Rajarajesvaram

The Pinnacle of Chola Art

B. Venkataraman

Rājarājēśvaram

(or the Brihadîśvara Temple)

"Rājarājēśvaram Udaiyār" is the name that the Chōla Emperor Rājarāja I gave to the titular deity that he consecrated in his 26th regnal year (A.D. 1010) in the magnificent temple he built at the capital of his empire, Tanjāvūr (Tānjōre). Centuries later, the deity came to be called Brihat-Īśvara, which renders itself in English as 'the Great Lord or God'. This is the currently used name for what was once Rājarāja's family deity. However, following the footsteps of his archaeologist father, the author prefers the original name, in fairness to the builder of the temple, Rājarāja I and in perpetuation of his memory.

This temple, Rājarājēśvaram (or Brihadîśvaram) is a unique monument in several respects. It contains, on its walls, its total biography, as it were, recorded in the inimitable Rājarājan calligraphy. The millennium long evolution of temple architecture in Greater India seemed to have received a sudden inspiration in the last quarter of the tenth century, when there burgeoned forth in the country at such widely separated centres as Khājurāho and Tanjāvur or Bhubanēswar and Gangai-konda-śōla-puram, temples of extensive campuses and towering śrîvimānas. And all this happened in a short span of less than half a century. The Tanjāvūr temple is the tallest of them all.

It is no chauvinism to state that rarely would one find another monument in any part of the world that has given to posterity such a detailed description of the social fabric of the era, covering in its great sweep of narration such varied facets of human endeavour as art and architecture, sculpture and painting, dance, drama and music, and metal casting, apart from etching for us detailed cameos on the life of the community of that era, its structure and norms, fashions and festivals, traditions and lore, commerce and trade and war and peace.

In short, Rājarājēśvaram is a frozen epitome in stone silhouetting the milieu of the period, as perhaps Pompeii

RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM

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Chola Art

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RĀJARĀJEŚVARAM

The Pinnacle of Chola Art

by

B. Venkataraman

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To

LEELA

my wife

FOREWORD

The Cholas were the greatest of the South Indian ruling dynasties. They enjoyed a long and continuous rule for a period of 430 years and with great achievements to their credit in all fields of royal endeavour – military conquests, efficient administration and promotion of culture and art.

Rajaraja I was the finest flower of that fine stalk. He raised the power of the dynasty to unprecedented heights and paved the way for its continued splendour for another two centuries. While the Cholas as a dynasty were the greatest temple-builders India has seen, Rajaraja built the grandest of temples in his capital. It may be aptly described as a temple 'created in a short time for all time'. It is rich in the fields of architecture, sculpture (in stone and metal) and painting, and he took pains that it should also lead the way in the arena of the performing arts of music and dancing. Posterity has to be grateful to him for leaving behind a comprehensive record in stone of the details of construction of his unique monument and the elaborate arrangements made to ensure its smooth working, also giving us in the process liberal glimpses into the ethos of the people who had the good fortune to call him their king.

A dedicated band of scholars, foreign and Indian have made valuable contributions to Indian historical and archaeological studies based on sound scientific lines. The founding of the Asiatic Society, the deciphering of the Asokan inscriptions and of the legends (in Greek and Brahmi) on the bilingual Indo-Greek coins, the appointment of Alexander Cunningham as the first Director-General of Archaeology and the revival of the Department during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, and (from the point of view of South Indian studies) the appointment of E. Hultszch as the Government Epigraphist for India – are

some of the landmarks in the development of studies in Indian art and architecture. Some of the district officers appointed in the days of British rule had taken a lively and enthusiastic interest in these studies, and the Gazetteers and Manuals published by them are still valuable sources for the history of the country. Even in these days when the role of the administrator is not merely the collection of revenue and the administration of justice but embraces an ever-widening gamut of matters demanding attention, it is good to know that many a civil servant has found it possible to imbibe the tradition of his professional forebears.

The author, B. Venkataraman, has been associated from his boyhood days with my field studies in the temple at Chidambaram and other South Indian monuments; in recent times, as Secretary for Home and Cultural Affairs in Orissa State, it fell to his lot to help in the conservation of some of the oldest Orissan monuments in and near Bhubaneswar. During the last two decades, a substantial part of the work involved in my projected four-volume series on Chola temples has fallen on him. Independently of this, he has already two publications to his credit: 'Laddigam' and 'Temple Art under the Chola Queens'. The present work is a detailed and systematic study of the Rajarajesvaram temple, the grandest achievement of the South Indian *Sthapati*. I am confident that it will serve as a valuable and trustworthy guide to the eager mind that wishes to know about this gem of a temple.

"KAVERI"
12, Fourth Cross Street,
Ramakrishna Nagar,
Madras-28.

S R Balasubrahmanyam

Vijayadasami Day
October 19, 1980.

PREFACE

Rajarajesvaram in the Tanjavur district of Tamil Nadu has often been called 'the temple of temples'. Built round the turn of the first millennium A.D. during the heyday of Chola rule, it is perhaps one of the best expressions of artistic excellence that could be conceived of. For the Cholas, temple building was not merely an outpouring of artistic talent but also a way of life, for the entire fabric of the society was woven round the temple. Built by the greatest of Chola rulers, Rajaraja, the temple was named after him as Rajarajesvaram, meaning 'the temple of the Isvara (God) of Rajaraja'. Later on, it became known as the Brihadisvara temple meaning the temple of the 'Great Isvara'. But, in fairness to the great king who visualized and had this structure built, I have, following my father, adhered to the original name.

I have chosen this temple as the theme of this book because it is a unique monument in many respects. It attracts the curiosity of not merely the historian but also the sociologist, not to speak of the dancer and the painter for, it is perhaps the only temple in the world which carries on its walls the engraved evidence, in beautiful calligraphy, of its entire history and the story of the contemporary society. Such an exhaustive documentation ranging over almost a hundred long inscriptions engraved on the walls, pillars and podium, is rare wealth, indeed of immeasurable value to the scholar. The inscriptions give, apart from a comprehensive history of the times, a full enumeration of all the metallic images set up in the temple. Numbering about sixty-six, these icons are referred to with a description of the minutest details of size, shape and composition. This alone is a mine of information for the art historian. The temple also sports a depiction in stone, of eighty-one of the one hundred and eight karanas of Bharata Muni's Natya Sastra – the first of its kind – setting the pace for many others to

follow in succeeding centuries. The inscriptional data also abound in mention of the jewellery of the period; about sixty-six different types of ornaments and jewellery are listed with all the details. As if this were not enough for the scholar, there is a fund of material on the social and cultural life of the people of the times.

This single temple could give the lie to the erroneously held and oft repeated contention that the Indian community lacked a sense of history. I have chosen this subject, not merely because of my general interest in and involvement with art history of the Cholas for over three decades along with my illustrious archaeologist father, but also because no painstaking attempt has yet been made by any scholar to place all this treasure of information in a single capsule for the scholar or the traveller.

The history gleaned from the temple walls will not make much sense without an idea of the background of Chola rule and hegemony. Hence I have devoted the first chapter to 'The Rise of the Chola Empire' thus bringing before the reader the exact historical context of Rajarajesvaram.

The second chapter on 'Rajaraja the builder', not merely enumeraes his attainments as a ruler, but also gives a clue to his personality and the psychological forces that prompted his building this fine edifice. This is particularly important in the case of Rajarajeswaram, for the temple bears the indelible imprint of the mind that conceived it. In the same chapter, I have also dealt with the contributions of Rajaraja's great aunt, Sembiyan Mahadevi and the tremendous influence these had on Rajaraja and hence on Rajarajesvaram. The details of Rajaraja's conquests, his army and navy, his administrative ability and his religious tolerance, are gleaned from the inscriptional evīdence on the temple walls.

The next chapter brings out the detailed description of the temple itself. An all-stone structure of such stupendous proportions had never been attempted before. In height, elegance and simplicity of design and plan, the temple has few parallels.

Chapter IV deals exclusively with murals and dance panels that stand revealed on the walls, thanks to the ravages of Time which had more or less peeled off the late Nāyak paintings that had been super-

posed on the earlier Chola paintings. The Bharatanatyam panels have been a source of great attraction to the curious scholar and the dance theorist, as also to the performing artiste. To give a general picture of how these panels correspond to the Natya Sastra verses, I have illustratively elaborated on six of the sculptured panels.

Chapter V consists of the details of the metallic images gifted to the temple of Rajarajesvaram. A complete list of the images, with the metal used and the persons who made the gifts, has been given. The inscriptional details have also helped to identify some of the existing specimens in the temple.

Rajaraja's own gifts to the temple form a separate chapter (Chapter VI). They included war booty, apart from other articles the king specially ordered for his beloved deity. The next Chapter (VII) deals with his sister Kundavai's impressive additions to the temple.

Chapter VIII contains information on ancient Indian jewellery that has not so far been brought to the attention of the discerning scholar in such detail in one place as I have been able to garner. My studies in this connection have revealed some fascinating items of jewellery and, for the first time, this book should be bringing into focus, apart from other details, a comprehensive list of jewellery and ornaments in vogue during the days of the Cholas. The types of jewellery, the composition and the content, the highly advanced techniques in fashioning them, have all been touched upon. Indeed, these details alone could be the subject of yet another study, for the Chola inscriptions mention twenty-three varieties of pearls, and eleven very clearly defined varieties each of diamonds and rubies alone; which only shows how exhaustive is the recording left behind for posterity.

I have also included a brief chapter (IX) on the vessels and other aids used in temple rituals.

The administrative arrangements for the maintenance of the temple are described in another exhaustive chapter (Chapter X). Once again a wealth of details is contained in the inscriptions. The meticulous engraving of even the names of the streets in which the shepherds and the temple women lived, not to speak of their own names and other details, is a case in point to illustrate the Rajarajan eye for detail and documentation. Nothing had been left to chance.

In the last chapter, I have dealt with the fortunes of the temple under post-Rajarajan rulers for, such a stupendous monument could not but attract the attention of later monarchs and noblemen.

Apart from these eleven chapters, I have attached elaborate (thirty two) appendices dealing with almost every facet of the temple and its context. They include a wide range of material, starting from a list of temples of the period of Rajaraja I, covering inscriptional details, quoting list of icons, ornaments, vessels, streets where temple functionaries lived, names of army units and regiments, villages offered to functionaries as remuneration for services rendered etc.

I have also included a select set of photographs of the temple besides line drawings illustrating details of jewellery, hair style, sculptural contours and main architectural features.

A temple for the Cholas was not merely a house of worship. It was the fulcrum of life, for the king linked himself closely with the deity of his choice. War booty was gifted to the temple which was the Treasury as well as the Public Record Office. The king's coronation was celebrated in the temple which was also the patron of music and all other performing arts. The learned scholar, the sculptor and the architect, the dancer and the musician, the blacksmith and the carpenter, and a host of others depended on the temple for their livelihood. Thus, the temple was an institution the activities of which touched upon every aspect of a person's life.

In the case of Rajarajesvaram, a concise presentation of all the intense research that has been done in the past and is still continuing is more than warranted. Apart from the importance it shares in general with other Chola monuments, it is a sculptor's dream, a historian's mine, a dancer's vision, a painter's delight, a sociologist's scoop, all rolled in one.

During my stay at the temple site, Sri D.R. Srinivasan and my young Research Assistant, the late T. Aravamudan whose life had been snuffed out 'ere life began' had been of great help and service to me. I owe them my sincere thanks.

My friend Prof. K.V.K. Rao, and eminent educationist has taken the trouble of reading and re-reading the entire manuscript and editing it alone first and then along with my wife. I am extremely grateful to him for all his unstinted effort.

My deep thanks are also due to Sri N. Subramaniam, Sri Ch. Neelakantha Sastry and Sri Parsuram Pattanayak for their tireless typing endeavours. The young artist Sri Jagdish Sharma has taken great pains over the line drawings. I must record my gratitude to him for his help rendered in unfailing good humour.

Shri G. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India, a friend of mine for nearly forty years, and son of an eniment Sanskrit scholar of the former Pudukkottai State, has been of great assistance in enabling me to link the Bharata Natya panels with the corresponding Natya Sastra slokas. I thank him for his encouragement and interest in my work.

I am deeply grateful to the Mudgala Trust, Madras (particularly its President, Mrs. Meenakshi Natarajan and Joint Treasurer, Mrs. Asha Ramachandran) for undertaking this publication.

My brother, B. Natarajan, the author of 'The city of the Cosmic Dance', and Dr. B. Ramachandran, themselves keen students of Chola history, art and culture have been of immense help to me in going through the text and in several other ways, facilitating this publication.

I gratefully record the irredeemable debt I owe to my father, Padmashri S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, an acknowledged authority on the Cholas, whose guidance and inspiration for my work over the years have always enthused me to burrow more and more into the Chola quarry. I and, in some measure, my brothers, under the same spell, have but played the role of the air-root to the banyan tree as it were, apparently supporting and sustaining, but actually drawing upon the prodigious mainstay. It would not be misplaced modesty or sheer filial piety to describe my work, such as it is, as but a foot-note to my father's multi-volumed magnum opus on the Chola temples, a product of over sixty-six years of vintage research. He was keen that this book should go into print even in his lifetime; but it was not to be.

My wife Leela has been associated with this venture from its very start: her special contribution lay in compiling and collating the vast statistical material that have gone into as many as 32 appendices. Hers has chiefly been a labour of love, but rendered with ruthless logic she brought to bear upon my entire work. If a Civil servant is, in the very nature of things, not much of a co-sharer of the Isyphean load of *sam-*

sara, a civil servant with an archaeological bee in his bonnet could be a curse if not much worse. Leela had not only put up with all that and more; she had been the very spur. I know no other way of acknowledging my debt than by dedicating this work to her.

And as is our family tradition, I place this book at the sacred feet of the Paramacharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham, Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Swamigal whose blessings have steered us through the trials and tribulations of human endeavour.

19, Willingdon Cresent,
New Delhi
19th September 1980

B. Venkataraman

P.S.

There is an uncanny truth in the adage that whatever happens is for the good. The text of this publication was got ready a decade ago. But forreasons known and unknown, its publication was delayed these ten years, ordained by divine dispensation as it were, so that its release shall be made exactly a thousand years after the author of the temple ascended the Chola throne of Tanjavur. We should feel privileged to belong to the generation that has the good fortune to celebrate the completion of a millennium since the accession of Rajaraja I.

I have, however. a deep regret. My father who was so keen on the family tradition of devotion to Archaeology being carried on by the succeeding generations had often expressed his desire to see this book in print. This was not to be. With his passing in November, 1981, our family banyan tree has gone and Archaeology has lost one of its great pioneers. It has been a deep personal deprivation for the family, and for the world of scholarship the loss of a great historian and archaeologist of South India. It was my privilege to be associated with him as son and student for a little under half a century. His masterly studies of the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the Cholas and the enormous amount of original field work turned out by him over nearly sixty years, almost single-handed and under difficult working conditions,

were ultimately embodied in the 'Four Chola Temples' which was only the fore-runner of the monumental four volume series–his *magnum opus*–on the Chola Temples, These volumes would for ever proclaim his significant contribution to the understanding of South Indian history and temple art and remain a worthy memorial to his passion for precise scholarship, life-long dedication to his chosen field and his profound faith in the 'vitality of Indian culture and our traditional values'.

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1

The Rise of the Chōḷa Empire

In the ninth century A.D., in the peninsular portion of India, south of the Tungabhadrā river, a tributary of the Krishnā, the ancient Chōḷa dynasty emerged from a long hibernation in the wake of the decline of both the Pāṇḍya and the Pallava empires. Towards the beginning of the tenth century, these two dynasties, the Pāṇḍya and the Pallava, were locked in bitter and exhausting wars, leading inexorably to their mutual extinction. For the next four hundred years or so, the South Indian stage was dominated by this renaissant dynasty that had emerged as an imperial power towards the end of the tenth century, which saw the stabilisation of the new Empire under Rājarāja I. This was followed by wars of assertion, first with the Rāshtrakūṭas and later with their successors, the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, both from the Karnāṭaka region. In the field of art and architecture, there was an unprecedented efflorescence of temple building activity that has few parallels in the history of art movement anywhere in the world. Around a thousand and more temples, big and small, reared their towering heads over the fertile plains watered by the river Kāvēri, each one a gem of art as well as a gallery of sculptures. This dynamic dynasty consolidated peninsular India upto the Tungabhadrā in the north-west and the Rishikulyā in the north-east into a well-knit, well-administered empire, and held firm sway over it in its heyday for well over four centuries.

The Chōḷas as a dynasty date back to the Śangam period (second century B.C. to second century A.D.) but disappear from the South Indian scene at the end of it not to be heard of till the rise of the House of Vijayālaya, in the 9th century A.D. Whether the scions of the Śangam line carried on as chieftains of little significance, from

either their old capital of Uraiyūr or Paḻaiyāru, near Kumbakōṇam, is a matter of speculation. Towards the closing decades of Pallava rule, a family of local chiefs known as the Muttaraiyars was in charge of the region at the head of the Kāvēri delta with their headquarters at Niyamam (modern Nēmam on the river Kāvēri), otherwise known as Āyirattaḷi. We come to know of three chiefs of this family from inscriptions found at Śendalai, a village close to Niyamam. They are:-

1. Mūtta-perum-piḍugu Muttaraiyan alias Kuvāvan Māran,
2. Ilangōdaḍiyaraiyan alias Māran Paramēśvaran, son of No. 1 supra, and
3. Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan alias Suvaran Māran, son of No. 2 supra.

The last mentioned of these chiefs was a feudatory of the contemporary Pallava king, Nandivarman II alias Pallava Malla (A.D. 731–96), and his sway spread over the adjoining region of Vallam and Tanjāvūr. We hear of yet another Muttaraiyar known as Kō-Iḷangō-Muttaraiyar belonging to a collateral line of the chiefs mentioned above. He was the only one of this clan who claimed a regnal year of his own. His inscriptions are found at Niyamam, Tirukkōḍikkāval and Kōyilaḍi and, in all likelihood, it was this chief that Vijayālaya, a scion of the earlier Śangam Chōḻa line (ruling from Uraiyūr or Paḻaiyāru or Paḻaiyarai), had overthrown before capturing Tanjāvūr. This event took place around A.D. 850, which could be taken as the date of the establishment of the Chōḻa empire.

Thus came into existence the Vijayālaya House of the Chōḻas, with their capital set up at the newly captured city of Tanjāvūr, where the Chōḻa chief built a temple dedicated to Niśumbhasūdini. Of this, however, we have no traces left excepting a very finely carved sculpture of Niśumbhasūdini, datable, on stylistic grounds, to the middle of the 9th century A.D. Towards the closing years of his reign, Vijayālaya had expanded his empire almost as far south as the town of Pudukkōṭṭai and as far north as Tiruttaṇi. That these places were firmly under his sway is attested by two temples, both called Vijayālaya-Chōḻīśvaram after his name, one in the south located at Nārttāmalai, picturesquely perched on the spur of a rock outcrop, the other in the north located at Vikkaṇāmpuṇḍi (variously

called Viḷakaṇampuṇḍi or Rāmakrishṇa Rājupeṭa) near the railway station bearing the name of Rāmakrishnarājupēta. An inscription[1] found in the temple of Vīraśōḷapuram (in the South Arcot district) calls him the Parakēśarivarman who took Tanjai (Tanjai koṭṭa). There is circumstantial evidence to show that Kīḻputtūr in the North Arcot district was within the empire, as attested by a 5th year inscription of Vikrama Chōḻa, a later Chōḻa emperor, which refers to a grant made by Vijayālaya in his 4th regnal year.

It was not as if the Pallava power had totally disintegrated by this time. Nripatunga (A.D. 855–96), Kampavarman (A.D. 878–910) and Aparājita (A.D. 879–97), the last of the Pallava rulers, each in his time had resisted the inroads made into their dwindling empire by Chōḻa rulers. Nevertheless, Vijayālaya had firm hold over Tiruveḻḻarai, Vīrasōḷapuram, Kīḻputtūr, Tirukkōvalūr, Uttaramērūr and Kānchi.

ĀDITYA I:

It was only under Vijayālaya's son Āditya I, however, that effective consolidation of the kingdom could take place. He annexed Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the traditional heartland of the Pallavas. Following the death of Pallava Nandivarman III in A.D. 869, a fratricidal conflict arose at Kānchipuram, with Nripatunga and his step-brother Aparājita claiming the throne. Varaguṇavarman II (who was the Pāṇḍyan king and a vassal of the Pallava) came to the aid of Nripatunga, while Aparājita won over the Ganga chief, Prithivipati I, to his side. Finding this an opportune moment to throw his weight on the side of the winning party, Āditya I evidently espoused the cause of Aparājita; and in a crucial engagement between the combined armies of these Pallava Princes and their respective allies (circa A.D. 885) at Śrīpurambiyam near Kumbakōṇam, Aparājita won the battle, though at the cost of Prithivīpati's life. After this decisive battle, the warring brothers lost their grip over the already tottering empire. Varaguṇa retired into seclusion. Āditya I became the Lord of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, having liquidated

1. ARE 51 of 1935–36.

Aparājita himself, his erstwhile ally, shortly after the Śrīpurambiyam battle. Āditya I is credited with the invasion and capture of Talakkāḍ, the capital of the Western Gangas. He conquered the region known as Kongunāḍu. With the Chēras he established friendly relations, which were reinforced by the marriage of his son, the future Parāntaka I, with the daughter of the Chēra king, Sthāṇuravi. He crossed the traditional Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya boundary along the banks of the Southern Veḷḷār but he does not seem to have succeeded in annexing the Pāṇḍyan kingdom to his expanding empire. His inscription in the village of Kaṇṇanūr, about 20 kilometres south of the Veḷḷār, would seem to demarcate the southern boundary of his kingdom. The final absorption of the traditional Pāṇḍyan kingdom was apparently left to his son and successor, Parāntaka I.

Rājakēsari Āditya I is credited, by the Anbil Plates of Sundara Chōḻa, with having built 'the row of large temples of Śiva, as it were banners of his own victories, lofty and unacquainted with defeat, on the banks of the river Kāvēri from the Sahya mountains (the Western Ghats), inhabited by the lordly elephants whose cheeks dripped with their temple-juice, incessantly flowing even to the ocean, which has the moon playing on the folds of its restless waves'. The Anbil Plates describe Āditya I 'as the Indra among kings who had great glory and fortune'. Among the more important temples attributed to the period of Āditya I are the Bālasubrahmaṇya temple at Kaṇṇanūr, Saptarishīśvarar temple at Lālguḍi, Koranganātha temple at Śrīnivāsanallūr, Avanikandarpa-Īśvara-griham at Kīḻaiyūr, Pagaiviḍai Īśvaram at Mēlappaḻuvūr, Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakōṇam, Sundarēśvarar temple at Śendalai, Panchanadīśvarar temple at Tiruvaiyāru, Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśalūr and Vilvanāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvallam. This extensive building activity came to an end with the death of Āditya I at Toṇḍaimān Āṟṟūr, the present day Toṇḍaimānāḍ[1]. His devoted

1. Toṇḍaimānāḍ is about 10 km from Kāḷahasti in the Chittoor district of Āndhra Pradēsh. It was formerly called Toṇḍaimān Āṟṟūr (or Pēr-Āṟṟūr) in Āṟṟūr Nāḍu, a division of Tiruvēngaduk-kōṭṭam in Toṇḍai Nāḍu. The memorial temple is known as Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvaram or Ādityēśvaram. The (later) Kanyā Kumāri inscription of Vīra Rājēndra says inter alia: 'The son of Vijayālaya was Ādityavarman, better known by the name of Kōdaṇḍarāma'. Hence the alternate name. We have instances of sepulchral temples built over the remains, or in memory, of many a Chōḻa king.

son Parāntaka I erected a memorial temple over the remains of the father.

PARĀNTAKA I:

Parakēsari Parāntaka I not only consolidated and expanded the empire considerably, but also built, in a reign which lasted almost half a century (acc. A.D. 907), a remarkable number of exquisite temples in the true Chōḷa style. The stone inscription of Vīra Rājēndra at Kanyā Kumāri says of him: 'He was the abode of the Goddess of Valour (Vīra Śrī). He destroyed the Pāṇḍya king ....for which achievement he received the title of Madurāntaka. This king......conquered in battle the hitherto unconquered king Krishnarāja II (of the Rāshṭrakūta line) and........in recognition of this feat, he was entitled Vīra Chōḷa. Parāntaka..........caused his armies to cross the seas and defeat the king of Simhaḷa (Śrī Lanka) and thereby received the true surname of Simhaḷāntaka......The destroyer of his enemies, Parāntaka brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like Vīranārāyaṇam just as Brahma created Svarga and caused them to be enjoyed by learned brāhmaṇs.'[1]

Soon after his accession, Parāntaka I followed up his father's efforts at expansion of the empire by invading the Pāṇḍyan country, which was then being ruled by Māravarman Rājasimha II (A.D. 900–920), who had in turn sought and obtained the help of the Śrī Lanka ruler Kāssapa V. However, the combined forces of the two rulers were ultimately defeated by Parantaka I at the battle of Veḷḷūr; the routed Pāṇḍyan ruler Rājasimha fled the mainland and sought refuge in Śrī Lanka. Here he deposited his crown, his insignia[2] of office and all his wealth with the Śrī Lanka prince and retired into Kēraḷa. After these victories, Parāntaka assumed the titles of Madhurāntakan, Madirai Koṇḍān and Madiraiyum Īḷamum Koṇḍa Kōp-parakēsari.

Turning to the region of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam itself, we find that after the battle of Śrī Purambiyam and the defeat of the Pallavas, the

1. Epigraphia Indica XV and XVIII.
2. The insignia of the Pāṇḍyan king was a coveted prize for the Chōḷa monarchs for a number of decades and ultimately it was Chōḷa king Rājēndra I who seized it.

Bāṇa chiefs Māvāli Bāṇarāya and his son Vikramāditya assumed independence till they were finally defeated by Parāntaka I around A.D. 910. The defeated Bāṇa chief sought the help of the Rāshṭra-kuṭa king, Krishna II, who was also awaiting a chance to avenge the denial of the Chōḷa throne to Kaṇṇaradēva, a son of Āditya I born of one of Krishna's daughters given in marriage to him. This resulted in a Rāshṭrakūta invasion of the northern part of the Chōḷa kingdom, but at the battle of Veḷḷāḷa (Tiruvallam), Parāntaka I defeated the combined forces and then assumed the title of Vīra Chōḷa, a mention of which we find in the 9th year inscription of this ruler at Shōlingur. This is, as mentioned earlier, reaffirmed in the Kanyā Kumāri inscription of Vīra Rājēndra. The Bāṇa country was bestowed on his Western Ganga ally, Prithivīpati II alias Hastimalla, who was also given the title of Bāṇādhirāja and Śembiyan Mahābali Vāṇarāyan. The Vaiḍumbas, another family of local chieftains, suffered the fate of the Bāṇas for allying themselves with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. Thus by A.D. 916, Parāntaka I had extended his empire from Nellore in the north to Kanyākumāri in the south and, for the rest of the rule, was well set to turn his attention to the internal affairs of consolidating and streamlining his administration, but for the unexpected rise to eminence of a great warrior king, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III. The Rāshṭrakūṭa empire had been torn by succession disputes and family strife after the death of Krishṇa II. Matters were complicated by the intervention of Parāntaka I and the granting of asylum to his son-in-law Gōvinda IV, also a claimant to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. Gōvinda had been dispossessed of his throne by his feudatories who had replaced him by Amōghavarsha III, a half-brother of Indra III and the grandson and successor of Krishṇa II. Krishṇa III became the yuvarāja even in the early years of the reign of his father, Amōghavarsha. When the latter died in A.D. 939, Krishṇa III set about in earnest to avenge not only the defeat of Krishṇa II at the hands of Parāntaka I, but also the Choḷa intervention in Rāshṭrakūṭa affairs by the granting of asylum to Gōvinda IV. Aware of the growing strength of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the pressure that had been building up on the northern frontiers of the expanded Chōḷa kingdom, Parāntaka I posted his eldest son, Rājāditya, who was also the yuvarāja, at Grāmam, a frontier post

(in the North Arcot district). Aided by the Bāṇa and Vaiḍumba chiefs, who had been smarting under their subordinate status under the Chōḷas, Krishṇa III invaded the northern part of the Chōḷa kingdom and won a decisive victory at Takkōlam after a fierce battle in which Rājāditya lost his life. Following this, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was annexed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom, of which it continued to be a part till the death of Krishṇa III.

Broken-hearted at the double loss of his Crown Prince and the northern province, Parāntaka appointed in A.D. 949 his next son, Gaṇḍarāditya as the Crown Prince of a truncated kingdom, and dragged on for five or six years more before he died in A.D. 955.

Parāntaka I's greatest contribution in the field of art would appear to be the gilding of the main shrine of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram. Referring to this act of great devotion, the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates[1] of Rājēndra I describe him as a 'bee at the lotus feet of Purāntaka (Śiva)', and mention that he built for Purāri, the Lord of the Silver Mountain (of Kailāsa), a golden house called the Dabhra Sabhā'. Thenceforth, Tillai or Chidambaram came to be called Hēma sabhā, Hiraṇya sabhā, Kanaka sabhā or Ponnambalam; and Parāntaka acquired the title of Pon Vēynda Perumāḷ—'one who covered with gold (the roof of the Dabhra or Chit Sabhā)'—and adopted Naṭarāja as the family deity of the Chōḷas (kula nāyakam).

Among the more important temples built anew or rebuilt of stone by him, mention should be made of the Panchanadīśvarar temple at Allūr, the Muchukundēśvarar temple at Koḍumbāḷūr, the Tiru Ālandurai Mahādēvar temple at Kiḻappaḻuvūr, the Sundarēśvarar temple at Nangavaram, the Brahmapurīśvarar temple at Puḷḷamangai, the Śivalōkanāthasvāmin temple at Grāmam, the Kadambavanēśvarar temple at Erumbūr, the Vyāghrapurīśvarar temple at Siddhalingamaḍam and the Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvaram or Ādityēśvaram at Toṇḍaimānaḍ. Not all of them were raised on new foundations; some of them had been brick structures which were now rebuilt in stone.

The periods of Āditya I and Parāntaka I form the initial phase in the growth of Chōḷa art; perhaps the latter's long reign facilitated

1. SII, III, Pt. III, 205, Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plate grant.

his sustained attention to art, inspite of the pressures of war on different fronts and the personal calamity that befell the king in the evening of his life. Under royal patronage art flourished as did the self-governing village communities. Altogether, this was a formative period in the field of Chōḷa art.

GAṆḌARĀDITYA AND ARINJAYA:

The next thirty years were a period of trials and tribulations for the Chōḷas. The empire shrank almost to the size of what it had been when Āditya I had handed over the kingdom to his son. Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya ascended the throne on the death of Parāntaka I. While his life was not long enough to make noteworthy contributions to the growth of art, the life of his queen was one of utter dedication, intense piety and fabulous explosion of artistic activity, particularly in the field of metal-casting.

Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya was a pious soul, credited with the authorship of Tiruviśaippā, which contains a hymn on the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram. When Gaṇḍarāditya became the king he nominated his brother Arinjaya, variously called Arinjigai, Arindama and Arikulakēsari, as the yuvarāja. Evidently, this was necessitated by the infancy of his own son who, even at the time of his father's death would have been but a child. The appellation Merkirundaruḷina Dēvaŕ applied to Gaṇḍarāditya would seem to imply that he had sought a ceremonial death possibly by fasting, the expression literally meaning "the king who went west".

Not much success would appear to have attended Gaṇḍarāditya's efforts to throw back the Rāshṭrakūṭas from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam; for, as long as he was alive, Krishṇa III continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the Chōḷas by remaining in full possession of the territories he had conquered. Both Gaṇḍarāditya and Krishṇa died at about the same time (A. D. 957); and then only did the Rāshṭrakūṭa hold over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam loosen. Right from the day Arinjaya came to the throne and, indeed throughout his reign his son, Sundara Chōḷa Parāntaka (II) gave a helping hand in the management of the affairs of state, which brought about some restoration of Chōḷa authority over this region. That, however, it was no easy task, is evident from

the fact that Arinjaya fell fighting in the northern borders at Āṟṟūr (near Mēlpāḍi) in the region known as Perumbāṇappāḍi. Much later, in his 29th year, Rājarāja I, the grandson of Arinjaya, built over the mortal remains of the king a memorial temple known as Tiru-Arinjīśvaram. The relevant extract from an inscription[1] found in this temple reads as follows:

"Śrī Kō-Rājarājakēsarivarmarāna Śrī Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2(0)9-āvadu Jayangoṇḍaśōḻa maṇḍalattu-Perumbāṇappāḍi Tū-nāṭṭu Mēṟpāḍi yāna Rājāśraya-purattu Āṟṟūr-tūnjina dēvarkku paḷḷipaḍai-yāha Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājarājadēvar eḍuppittaruḷina Tiru-varinjīśvarattu Mahādēvarkku........."

Arinjaya bore the appellation of 'Āṟṟūr tūnjinadēvar'—he who died at Āṟṟūr[2]—as given in the Tirumāḷpuram inscription.

SUNDARA CHŌḶA AND ĀDITYA II:

Sundara Chōḷa, the son of Arinjaya, ascended the throne as Rājakēsari Parāntaka II on the death of his father in A. D. 967. A major event in his life was the crushing of the Pāṇḍyan rebellion led by Vīra Pāṇḍya. But before dealing with it, we may turn our attention to the affairs in Pāṇḍi nāḍu in the second quarter of the tenth century. We notice towards the middle of the rule of Parāntaka I, the emergence of a Pāṇḍyan ruler called Vīra Pāṇḍya who, after a long struggle lasting over two decades, crowned himself king at Madurai around A.D. 947 and became a thorn in the side of Parāntaka I. In other words, the troubles of Parāntaka I would appear to have begun even before his son Rājāditya had fought and lost the battle of Takkōlam a couple of years later.

By A.D. 953 this Pāṇḍyan prince had gathered strength enough to wage a war against the Chōḷas, in which he was evidently so successful that he claimed the title of Śōlan-talai-koṇḍa (meaning, he

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1. ARE 86 of 1889; SII, III, no. 17.
2. This Āṟṟūr, which should be a part of the present day Mēlpāḍi, 26 kms. south-west of Chittoor (A.P), is not to be confused with another Āṟṟūr, known also as Ṭoṇḍaiman-Āṟṟūr, 10 kms. from Kāḷahasti in Chittoor district (A.P.) where, as mentioned earlier, Parāntaka I built a memorial temple called Ādityēśvaram or Kōndaṇḍarāmēśvaram, over the mortal remains of Āditya I who died at that place.

who took the head of the Chōḻa). This would really draw the low water mark of Chōḻa authority in the South. But in a decade, the tide had turned again in favour of the Chōḻas—Krishṇa III was dead; Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was partially, if not entirely, retaken and, at the battle of Chevvūr, Sundara Chōḻa as the yuvarāja, assisted by his son Āditya and several feudal chiefs, won a crucial victory over Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 963). The latter, however, was by no means eliminated from the scene, not certainly for a decade to come.

Sundara's victory at Chevvūr is given a cried up description in the Larger Leyden Grant[1] as well as in the Karandai Tamiḻ Śangam Plates[2]. In the wake of this victory, Sundara called himself Madurai-koṇḍa Rājakēsari—the Rājakēsari who captured Madurai, or Madhurāntaka, the destroyer of Madurai. Two eminent allies of Sundara, Bhūti Vikramakēsari and Parāntaka Śiriyavēḷār, both Irungōḷar chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr, came into prominence in this war against the Pāṇḍyas. Śiriyavēḷār pressed home this victory and invaded Īḻam (Śrī Lankā) in an attempt to re-establish the lost authority, but was killed in action. The role of Sundara's elder son, Āditya in the Chevvūr battle is described in the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates[3] in glowing terms, comparing him to a lion's cub sportively playing with a wild rutting elephant. Possibly the demonstration of tremendous courage at such a tender age persuaded Sundara to make Āditya the yuvarāja and a co-regent, even while Sundara's father had been alive (A.D. 964). Parakēsari Āditya II, who bore the title of Karikāla, kept up the pressure on Vīra Pāṇḍya and, in his 2nd regnal year (A.D. 966), claimed the title of 'Vīra Pāṇḍyan-Talai Koṇḍa' meaning 'he who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya'. Whatever be the exact connotation of this title, the efforts of Vīra Pāṇḍya to throw off the Chōḻa yoke did not succeed; any more than those of the Chōḻas to hold on firmly to the Pāṇḍyan territory, as Parāntaka had succeeded in doing, in the earlier decades of his rule. Indeed it was left to Rajaraja I, the brother of Āditya II, to bring about unquestioned suzerainty over Pāṇḍi nāḍu.

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1. Epigraphia Indica XXII, 34.
2. ARE 1949–50; Sec. A, 57 and 58.
3. SII, III, Pt. III, 205.

However, Sundara's efforts in the north appear to have been attended with greater success. The present day areas comprising South Ārcoṭ, North Ārcoṭ and Chingleput districts including portions of Chittoor and Nellore districts of Āndhra Pradēsh were well within the Chōḷa empire. Sundara died (A. D. 973) while camping in the northern (secondary) capital of Kānchipuram, (which he had made) his temporary headquarters conducting possibly one of his campaigns to recover the lost territory. This gave him the appellation of 'Ponmāḷigai tūnjinadēvar' meaning 'the Lord who died in the golden palace'(at Kānchipuram).

But before his death, Sundara was to see much tragedy; political intrigue spearheaded by Gaṇḍarāditya's son Uttama Chōḷa, who had by then become a young man with ambitions to the Chōḷa throne, resulted in the murder, in A.D. 969, of young Parakēsari Āditya II, who was still the crown prince and co-regent. And it was not Āditya's younger brother Arunmoḷi, but Gaṇḍarāditya's son Uttama Chōḷa, who became the Crown Prince in the same year. We shall see more of this in the next chapter on Rājarāja I.

Four years after his elder son's death, Sundara died, a broken-hearted man, and his wife Vānavan Mahādēvi, a Malaiyamān princess and mother of Arunmoḷi, committed sati (A.D. 973).

The most famous monument that came into existence during Sundara's days was the temple of the triple shrines known as Mūvar Kōyil, built at Koḍumbāḷūr by the Irungōḷar chief and ally of Sundara Chōḷa, Bhūti Vikrama Kēsari. It constitutes an important landmark in the growth and evolution of Chōḷa art; Kārkōṭakēśvarar temple at Kāmaraśavalli and Varadarāja Perumāḷ temple at Mīnjūr being the other important temples of this period.

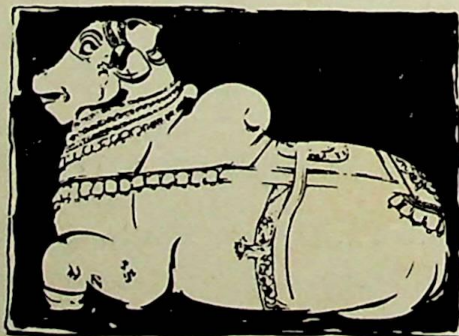
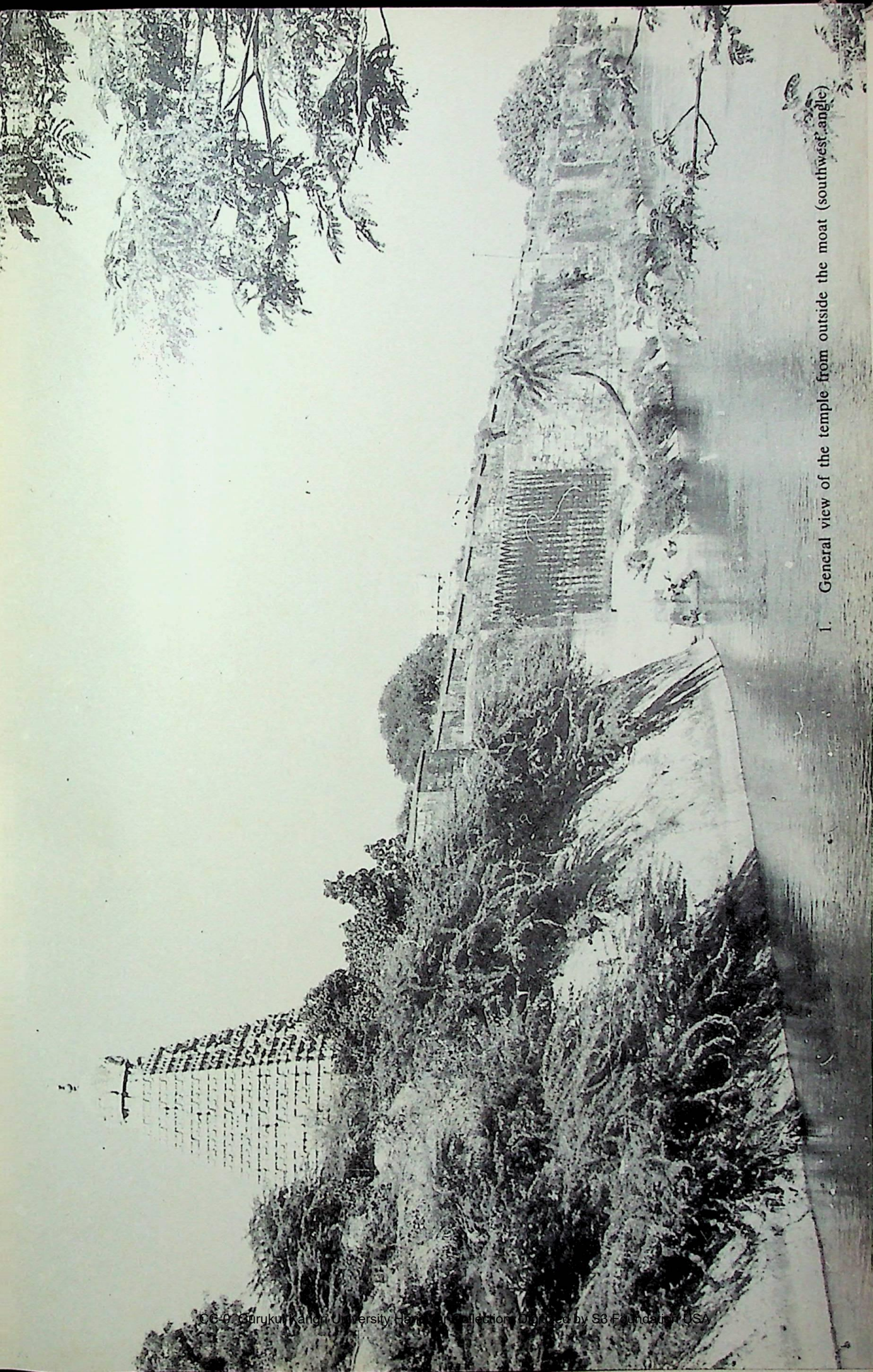
UTTAMA CHŌLA and ŚEMBIYAN MAHĀDĒVI:

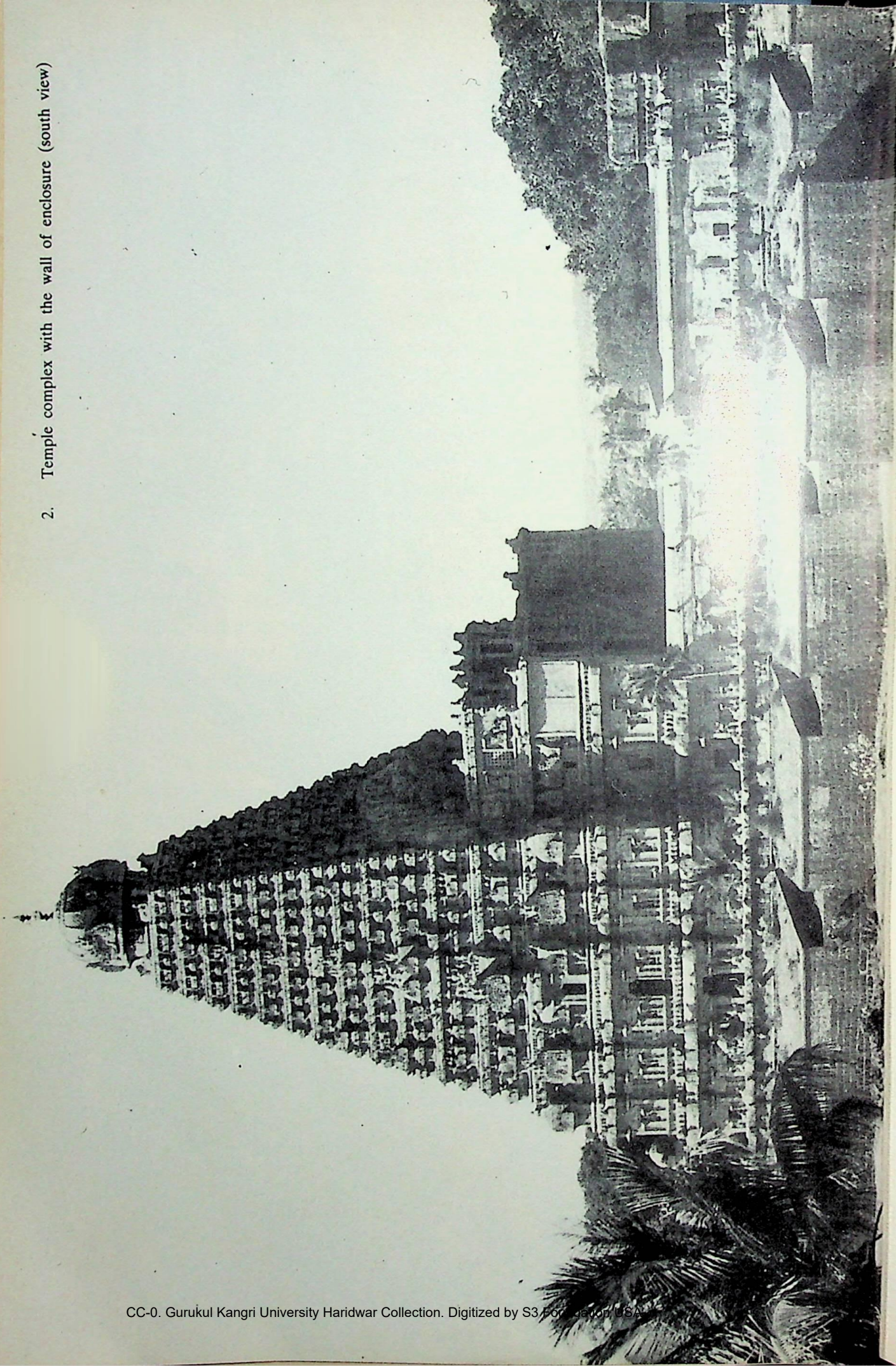
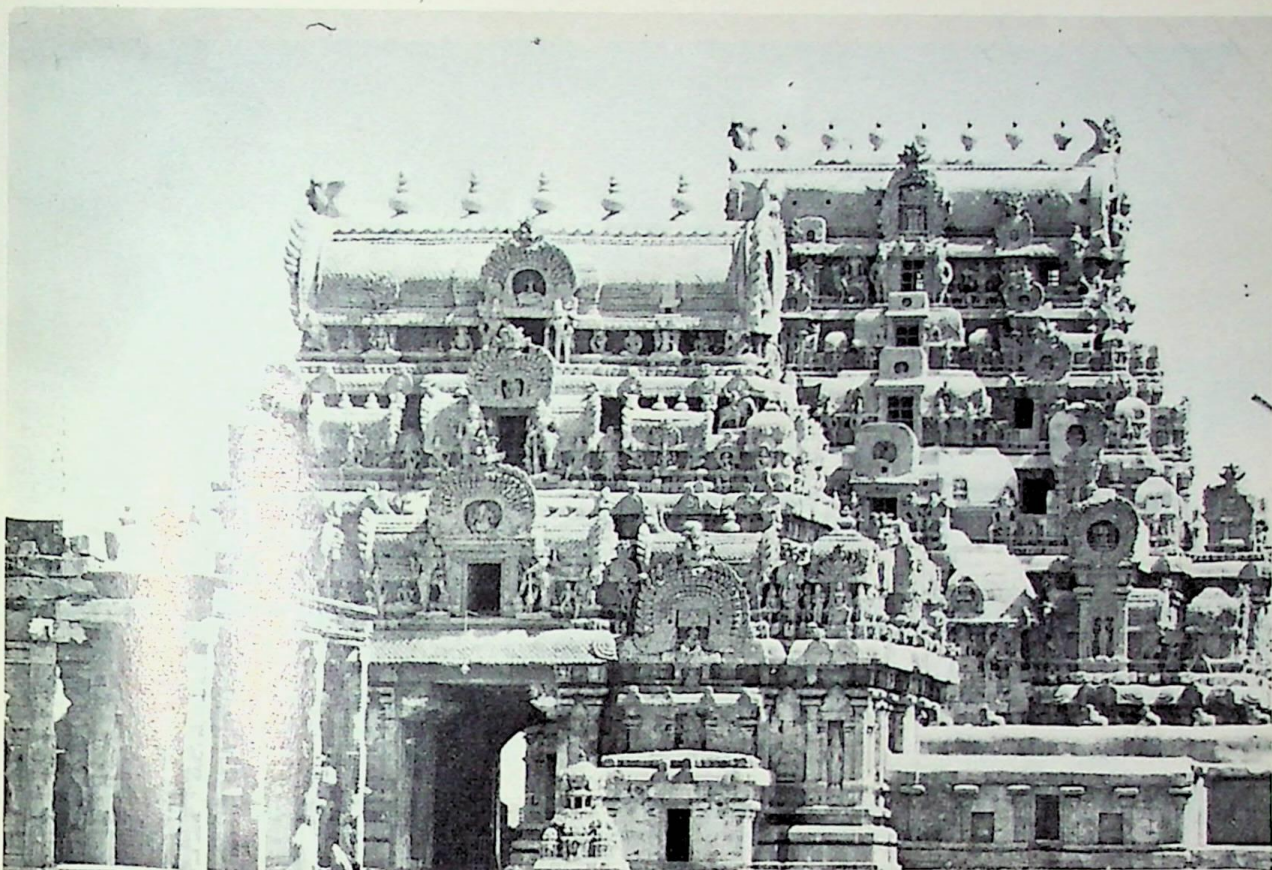
Uttama Chōḷa was a Parakēsarivarman who bore the surnames of Madhurāntaka and Vikrama Chōḷa. Soon after he ascended the throne, he would appear to have appointed Sundara's son Arumoḷi as heir-apparent, since he felt that Arumoḷivarman was the 'very incarnation of Vishṇu himself,' while he 'applying his mind to the devotion of Sarva (Śiva) utilising his wealth in the act of performing

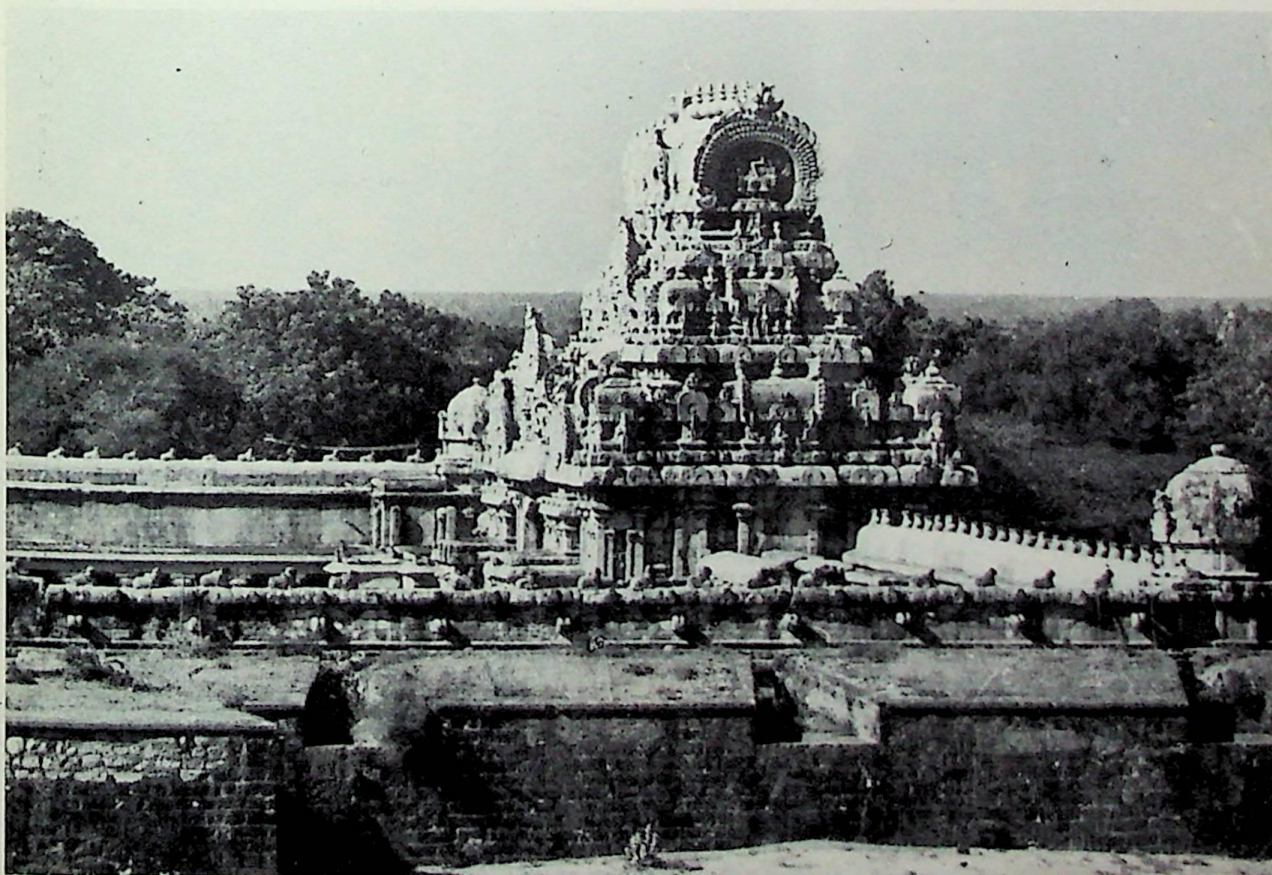
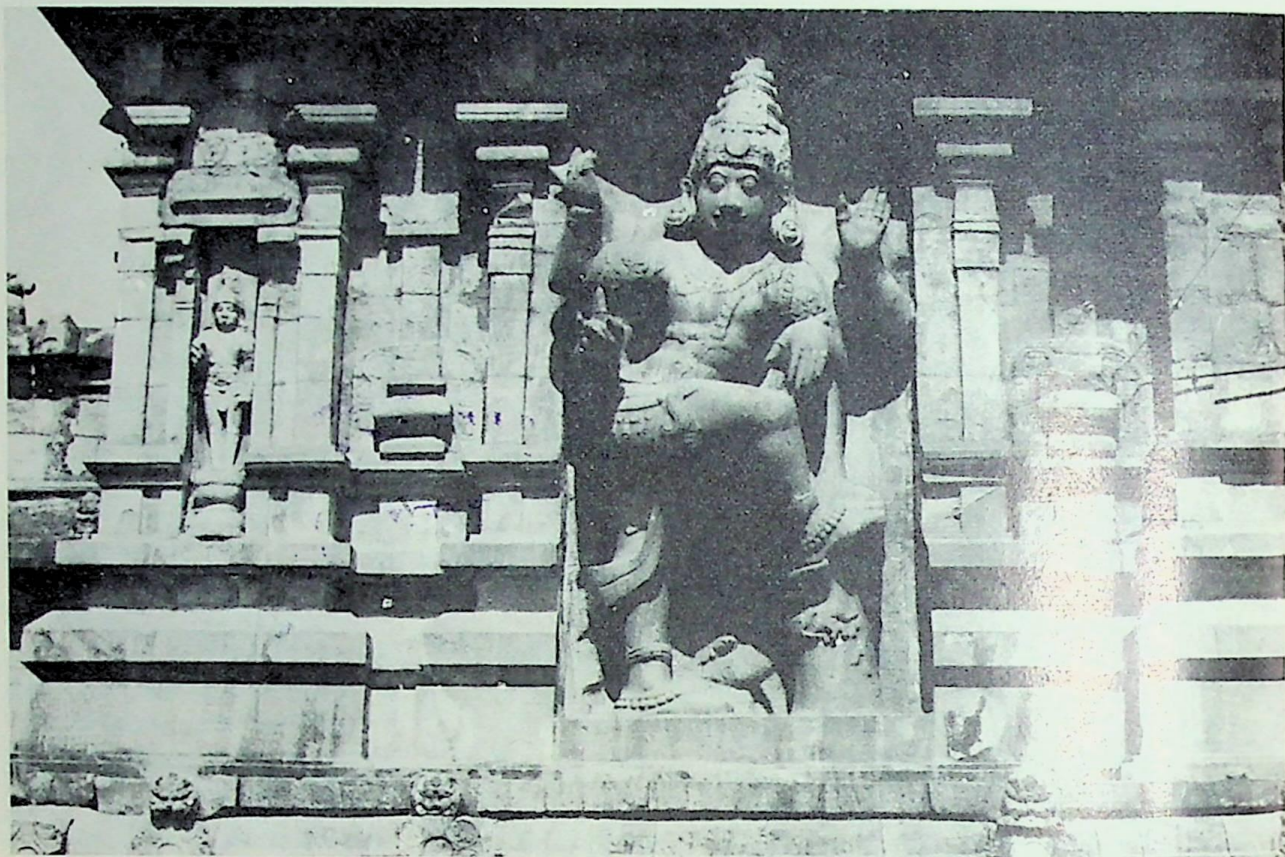
his worship, employing all his retinue in the construction of Houses for Him (temples).......' 'bore on his broad shoulders the burden of the earth'[1].

Uttama Chōḷa's reign, a span of sixteen years, though barren of political significance, was a creative period in Chōḷa art and architecture; and the prime mover in this movement was Uttama's mother, Śembiyan Mahādēvi. The daughter of Malavarāyan and queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, Śembiyan's domestic life was overshadowed by early widowhood, with the infant son Uttama in her lap. 'Widowed early in youth, she led a dedicated life; and for nearly sixty years, she devoted her unrivalled energy and enormous wealth to erecting new temples, renovating old ones and enriching them with costly gifts and large endowments. She founded a new village and named it after her.'[2]

During this period, around twenty temples, which are definitely attributable to Uttama Chōḷa or Śembiyan Mahādēvi[3] were built of stone, either as new foundations or as replacement of the earlier brick structures. To mention only a few, they are Uma Mahēśvarar temple at Kōnērirājapuram, Tiruviśayamangai temple at Gaṇḍar-ādittam, Śrī Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Śembiyan Mahādēvi and Vriddhagirīśvarar temple at Vriddhāchalam.

The death of Uttama Chōḷa rings out an epoch of struggle for survival. A dynamic era dawns in which the Chōḷas, triumphant with conquests and expansion command supremacy in the political field. It is also an era which witnesses a phenomenal growth in different fields of art and literature.

1. Tiruvālangāḍu Plates, verse 71.
2. Early Chola Temples by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, p. 158.
3. Śembiyan Mahādēvi's contribution to Chōḷa Art is so significant that it has been made a subject of detailed study by me in my book—Temple Art under the Chōḷa Queens.

1. General view of the temple from outside the moat (southwest angle)

2. Temple complex with the wall of enclosure (south view)

3A. The inner and outer gōpurams in the eastern cardinal direction

3B. The inner gōpuram (Rājarājan tiru-vāśal) (south view)

4A. Dvārapāla on the eastern face of the inner gōpuram

4B. Dvārapāla on the eastern face of the inner gōpuram

2

Rājarāja I

On the death of Uttama Chōḻa, Parāntaka (II) Sundara Chōḻa's younger son, Arumoḻidēva came to the throne in A.D. 985. Rājakēsari Arumoḻi, by which name Rājarāja I was known in the early years of his reign, had a long period of probation as the yuvarāja (crown prince). According to the Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plates relating to the 6th year of his son, Rājēndra I, 'after Āditya (II), his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka bore the burden of the earth and installed Arumoḻi in the office of heir-apparent.'[1] Rājarāja's political shrewdness was amply demonstrated in his denying himself the right to the Chōḻa throne, which, he was well aware, was coveted by his father's elder cousin, Uttama Chōḻa. The Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plates in a reference to this say; 'Though requested by the subjects (to occupy the Chōḻa throne), in order to destroy the persistently blinding darkness of the powerful Kali (age), Arumoḻivarman, who understood the essence of royal conduct, desired not the kingdom for himself even in his mind, while his paternal uncle coveted his (i.e. Aruṇmoḻivarman's) dominions.'[2]

In the Larger Leyden Plates of Rājarāja I, which deal with the provision made by the Chōḻa king for the maintenance of a Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam set up by the ruler of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya, the reference is brief and makes no mention of the death of Āditya II, the elder brother of Aruṇmoḻivarman.

'This Lord of kings, Rājēndra (Sundara Chōḻa) begot (two sons), Āditya otherwise called Karikāla and Rājarāja, the head-jewel of the solar race.

1. Epi. Ind. XXII, no. 34, p. 221.
2. SII, III, no. 205, verse 69.

'When that Parāntaka directed his attention to protect the world of gods (i.e. died), Āditya justly carried out the protection of men.

'That young boy (Āditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with Vīra Pāṇḍya, just as a lion's cub does with a rutting male elephant proud of (its) strength.'

'When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya (i.e.) king Madhurāntaka, he, of powerful arms and famous as Mahēndra (Indra), protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle'[1]. The Kanyā Kumāri inscription of Vīra Rājēndra[2] (the last of the main line of the Vijayālaya House) avoids any reference to the reign of Āditya II. But an inscription from Uḍaiyārguḍi,[3] dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Rājarāja I refers to the 'murder of Karikāla Chōḻa who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'. The record spells out the various measures taken by the sabhā of Śrī Vīranārayaṇa Chaturvēdimangalam, on the directives received from the king, and they included the confiscation and sale of the properties of the persons who were involved in the murder of Āditya II, which took place in A.D. 969 in the reign of Sundara Chōḻa (A.D. 969–973). Evidently, Sundara Chōḻa was helpless in the face of a concerted move to prevent his line from claiming the throne, for we find him appointing his elder brother Gaṇḍarāditya's son, Uttama Chōḻa as the yuvarāja and claimant to the throne in preference to his own younger son, Arumoḻidēva. Equally evident is the possibility of the murderer(s) remaining immune to the wrath of the king on the loss of his son. It was sixteen years after the murder, and in the reign of Arumoḻidēva, that the murder was avenged. We do not know if any physical punishment was meted out to the traitors, but whatever be the punishment (confiscation or other civil and social measures), it was to await the death of Uttama Chōḻa. Circumstantially, therefore, it seems difficult not to believe that Uttama Chōḻa had been deeply involved in the murder of Karikāla. His argument might presumably have been that, on the death of Gaṇḍarāditya, the throne should have gone to the direct descendant of the deceased and that

1. Epi. Ind., XXII, No. 34, p. 256, Verses 26, 27, 28 & 29.
2. Epi. Ind., Vol. XV and XVIII.
3. ARE. 577 of 1920.

Arinjaya (Arindama) had no right to it. Many of the pious and generous grants and donations that Śembiyan Mahādēvi, inherently a devout woman, made during these critical years (following the death of her husband, and in particular, after the murder of Āditya at the hands or on the instigation of her son, who had coveted and ultimately got the throne) are partially explicable in the light of her intense sense of guilt over the dastardly conduct of her son. Her piety became the moving force in Chōḷa art and temple building activity; and indeed, the one main propelling agency that led to an unprecedented growth of temples and bronze castings of unsurpassed beauty and quality, and in numbers that may well overawe any art lover.[1]

RĀJARĀJA's PATIENCE:

We have digressed a great deal into the death of Karikāla to spotlight a trait of Rājarāja I that stood him in great stead in his momentous thirty year rule—an epoch-making period in the history of South India. He was in no hurry to claim the throne; his brother's fate and his father's helplessness in the face of the machinations of the court left him dumb with anger, a state of mind which, however, never revealed itself. 'Though his subjects entreated Arunmoḷivarma' 'to dispel the blinding darkness', so mention the Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plates[2], 'he, versed in the dharma of Kshattra (Kshatriya), did not desire the kingdom for himself even inwardly as long as his paternal uncle coveted his (Arumoḷi's) own country'. Another character emerges out of this sordid story of murder and usurpation; and that is Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, the son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Chōḷa, in a light refreshingly different from that of his father. He must have felt the utter untenability of the claim of Uttama, his father, to the Chōḷa throne, and certainly laid no claim to it for himself for, to quote the Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plates again, 'Madhurāntaka installed him

1. See Temple Art under the Chōḷa Queens, B. Venkatarāman, for a full discussion on Śembiyan Mahādēvi's contribution in the field of temple art and metal casting.
2. SII, III, Pt. III, 205.

(Arumoḷi) in the position of yuvarāja, and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth'. Uttama's ambitions seem then to have been limited to his occupying the throne himself and did not extend to setting up a line of succession as further claimants. Even if it were so, Uttama's son Gaṇḍarādittan was certainly no party to it. And thus, the two noble characters—Arumoḷi who relinquished the throne in favour of his ambitious uncle, and his cousin Gaṇḍarādittan who turned away from the very thought of succeeding his father to the throne, seem to have exercised a chastening influence on the politics of the day by the sheer dignity of their bearing and selflessness in the larger interests of the dynasty. Rājarāja showed great regard for his cousin and gave him high office in the Court while the latter in turn continued to serve him loyally.[1]

DEATH OF SUNDARA CHŌḶA AND SATI BY VĀNAVAN MAHĀDĒVI

A broken-hearted Parāntaka Sundara Chōḷa, as we saw earlier, did not long survive his son's death, but died in A.D. 973, when Uttama ascended the throne. Vānavan Mahādēvi, the devoted queen of Sundara and the mother of Arumoḷi, as mentioned earlier, committed sati. The tragic end of his father and mother, in the wake of his own brother's murder, perhaps deeply moved Arumoḷi and his sister Kundavai for, years later, when her brother built the temple of Rājarājēśvaram, Kundavai set up metallic images of the parents, Parāntaka Sundara and his queen affectionately called in the inscription 'Tammai', and deified them. For the same reason, Rājarāja, as the only surviving male member of the line, showed a deep bond of affection for Kundavai, who occupied also a prominent place in the Court.

RĀJARĀJA'S ACCESSION:

Rājarāja was born under the asterism Satabhishaj (Śadayam in Tamiḷ). 'At the birth of Aruḷmoḷivarman', say the Tiruvālangāḍu

1. SII, III, No. 40, also ARE of 1904, para 20.

Copper Plates, 'the wives of the serpent of Ādiśēsha, who carries the earth on his shoulders, danced for joy in the belief that he (Aruḷmoḻivarman) would relieve their husband of the burden of bearing the earth'[1].

When Rājarāja ascended the throne, the Chōḻa kingdom was hardly a principality, having shrunk in size to the traditional Chōḻa maṇḍalam. The death of the Rāshṭrakūṭa, Krishṇa III (A.D. 966), marked the relaxation of the death-grip in which the Chōḻa ruler had been held by the Rāśhṭrakūṭas, but this advantage was more than neutralised by the internal strife and court machinations. Though some semblance of Chōḻa authority was re-established over the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam region which the Chōḻas had lost to Krishṇa III, the war with Vīra Pāṇḍya and the death of Āditya II prevented the establishment of firm administration either over Toṇḍai nāḍu or Pāṇḍi nāḍu. In fact, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom hardly owed any allegiance to the Chōḻa ruler during the confused thirty years following the Chōḻa defeat at Takkōlam in A.D. 949.

The Chōḻa rulers bore the simple titles of Rājakēsarin and Parakēsarin alternately. In the Sanskrit portion of the Larger Leyden Grant,[2] the first verse is in praise of Vishṇu, and then, after referring to Manu, Sibi and other illustrious kings, the eponymous Chōḻa is introduced as being born in that family (verse 6). 'And in this family were born Rājakēsarin and in the latter's family Parakēsarin' (verse 7). It is stated that 'the names or rather titles Rājakēsarin and Parakēsarin were borne alternatively by kings born in the Chōḻa family' (verse 8). The first ruler of the Vijayālaya House, viz., Vijayālaya himself was a Parakēsari who took Tanjai—'Tanjai-koṭṭa-kōp-parakēsarivarmar'. Parāntaka I was 'Madurai-Koṇḍa Parakēsari' and so on. But it was for the first time in Chōḻa history that Rājarāja I introduced the practice of prefixing a formal 'praśasti' to any deed or grant or donation; and the praśasti, as the term implies, was an encomium setting forth the achievements of the king. In the case of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I, who were the prime builders of the empire, the praśasti ran into considerable

1. SII, III, No. 19.
2. Epigraphia Indica, XXII, 34.

length, increasing with succeeding years and updating the royal achievements. Thus, to figure out the movement of history in the case of the earlier kings, while one has to have recourse to lithic inscriptional material and their provenance, supported by an occasional copper plate like the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōḷa, in the case of Rājarāja I and his successors, basic material on the events of their reign is furnished in some detail in the praśastis. It is from them, supported by other corroborative contemporary evidence, that we gather our material for the following summary of his achievements.

It must have been fairly early in his reign that Arumoḷivarman had made his conquests following which he had assumed the title of Mummaḍi Chōḷa (we come across Mummaḍi, Irumaḍi, and Nūrmaḍi Chōḷa—titles whose exact significance is however not clear). His earliest praśastis mention the expression 'Kāndaḷūr-Śālai-kalam-aruttaruḷi'[1] (having destroyed the Chera fleet at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, a port on the west coast), dating from his fourth regnal year. But the campaign against the Chēra country was only a part of a much bigger and more protracted scheme of expansion of the empire covering Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Īḷa maṇḍalam, which had joined hands in a common endeavour to stem the tide of Chōḷa onslaught on the southern kingdoms. The Tiruvālangāḍu Plates[2] referring to this Southern campaign say:

' 76. This king, a pile of matchless prosperity, majesty, learning, strength of arm, powers, heroism and courage, invaded and conquered in order, all the quarters commencing with the direction of Triśanku (i.e. the South).'

' 77. The moon as if to afford protection to the Pāṇḍya king born in his own family (a reference to the lunar race), and thinking (upto himself)' 'I am also a Rāja', became the white parasol of this (king) who was intent upon conquering that (southern) quarter.

' 78. King Amarabhujanga being siezed, other dissolute kings ....afraid of him at heart, wished to hide (themselves) somewhere (............. like serpents.....).

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1. Kerala Society Papers, 2 pp. 100 ff; SII, XIII, No. 250; also S.I. Temple Inscriptions, III, Pt. II, 1-16, The term 'kalam-aruttu' has been interpretted differently by some scholars.
2. SII, III, Pt. III, 205.

‘ 79. The Commandant of (this) ornament of the Solar race, the hereditary home of (the goddess of) Victory, captured the town of Viḻinda, whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors’.

Then the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates go over to describe the Śrī Lankā campaign and narrate the events in these graphic words:

‘ 80. The Lord of Raghu (i.e. Rāma) constructed a bridge across the waters of the ocean with (the assistance of) able monkeys, killed with great difficulty the king of Lankā (i.e. Rāvaṇa) with sharp edged arrows; (but) this terrible general of that (king) Arumoḻivarman crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Lankā. Hence Rāma is (surely) surpassed by this (Chōḻa general)’.

HIS WARS OF EXPANSION—SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

In this first phase of his wars of expansion and conquest, Rājarāja I took care to consolidate the southern provinces so as to eliminate the contingency of having to fight on two fronts—the southern and northern borders—simultaneously. The defeat of the Pāṇḍya king, Amarabhujanga and the Chēra king, Bhāskara Ravivarman Tiruvadi (A.D. 978–1036, the latter a contemporary of Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndra I), followed by the elimination from northern Lankā of the Īḻa ruler Mahīndra V (acc. A.D. 981) and his expulsion to the mountain fastnesses of the Rōhaṇa region in south-eastern Lankā, all this had enabled Mummaḍi Chōḻa to turn his attention to the western and northern borders of his expanding empire. He wasted no time in extending civil administration to the conquered territory, establishing provincial governors as in Northern Śrī Lankā renamed Mummaḍiśōḻa maṇḍalam and in Pāṇḍi nāḍu, re-designated (later) as Rājarāja Pāṇḍi nāḍu.

KARNĀṬAKA CAMPAIGN:

Soon after the naval victory over the Chēras at Śālai (Śālaikalam aruttu), the Chōḻa king entered the southern Karnāṭaka region and took in his stride the territories of Taḍigaipāḍi (also called

Taḍigaivaḻi), Noḷambavāḍi and Talaikkāḍu (the capital of Gangavāḍi) and annexed them to his empire. Kuḍamalai nāḍu, the area corresponding to modern Coorg district of Karnāṭaka State, was also soon annexed. There is no mention of the conquest of Kongu nāḍu, which, by implication, would mean that the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion of A.D. 949 had not resulted in the conquest of this region too, which apparently continued to be a part of the Chōḻa kingdom. The exit of the Rāshṭrakūṭas by A.D. 973 produced a power vacuum in the present-day South Karnāṭaka region, which was taken full advantage of by the powerful Rājarāja I, who lost no time in extending his northern frontiers to the present-day Ṭumkūr and Chittaldrug districts of Karnāṭaka.

PĀKKINĀḌU CAMPAIGN:

Yet another of the early campaigns of Rājarāja I finds mention in a 6th year record[1] of the ruler, found in the Durga shrine in the Kachchapēśvara temple at Kānchīpuram.

We are aware that Pākki nāḍu,[2] which refers to the modern Nellore region (north of Madras), was annexed to the Chōḻa kingdom even in the days of Parāntaka I, but evidently, the hold over it had been lost after the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion. In the 6th year, at the instance of Rājarāja I, Mummaḍi Śōḻan Śōḻakkōn, a Chōḻa chieftain mounted a campaign against this region and took possession of Pākki nāḍu and Śitpuli nāḍu, thus extending the empire as far as Gūḍūr taluk of the coastal Āndhra region.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DECCAN

In the meantime, major developments had been taking place in the Deccan. The Rāshṭrakūṭa empire which, as seen earlier, under

1. The inscription reads:
'Svaśti Śrī Kōvirājakēśaripanmarkku yāṇḍu 6-āvadu Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān Villavar Mūvēndavēḻānūkku Kurukaḍi Kiḻān (Paraman) Maḻapāḍiyāna Mummuḍi Śōḻan Śōḻakkōn Śippuli nāḍum Pākkināḍum ērindu piḍittu koṇḍuvanda āḍu toḻāiramum Kachchippēṭṭu Ainjaṇḍi Bhaṭṭāraki-k-ku nondāviḷakku onrinikku....śilālēkai śeydu kuḍukka venru aruḷachchaidu vanda tirumugappaḍiyē Kachchippēṭṭu Durga Bhaṭṭārakiyārkku nondāviḷakkukku Rājarājanennum tirunāmattāl pattu viḷakkukku... (SII, XIII, 149: ARE no. 79 of 1921).
2. Also called Pākkai nāḍu.

its great warrior king Krishṇa III rose to unprecedented heights, started showing, soon after his death, signs of breaking up under pressure from its northern borders, coupled with intrigue from within. Towards the closing years of his reign, around A.D. 963, Krishṇa III invaded Mālwa and defeated the Paramāra ruler, Harsha Śīyaka, who acknowledged the overlordship of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, while harbouring much resentment against Krishṇa III. Generous by nature, the great warrior-statesman did not know that he was endangering the foundations of his own throne when he gave away Taraḍavāḍi, one of the provinces in the heart of his kingdom, to Āhavamalla Tailaparāśa of the Satyāśraya family in around A.D. 965. When Krishṇa III died a couple of years later, Paramāra Harsha Śīyaka avenged the earlier defeat at the hands of the Rashṭrakūta. Accordingly, he invaded the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom and, having crossed the Narmadā, defeated the armies of Khoṭṭiga, Krishṇa's half-brother and successor, and finally ravaged the capital city of Mānyakhēta (A.D. 972–3). Khoṭṭiga did not long survive this sack of his capital. He died in A.D. 973, to be succeeded by his nephew Karka II. Within a few months of his accession, he was dethroned by the ambitious Taravāḍi chief, Satyāśraya Tailaparāśa, who set up a new line of Western Chāḷukyas, with their capital at Kalyāṇi. They were to become along with the Chōḷas formidable contenders for the overlordship of peninsular India. Taila II, who ruled from Mānyakhēta countered the fresh onslaught on his new kingdom made by the Paramāra king, Munja. He not only worsted the enemy but also humiliated and killed him. And even as Rājarāja I was embarking on his campaigns and annexations, Satyāśraya, the able son of Taila II who assisted his father in all his wars of consolidation, ascended the Chāḷukyan throne on the death of his father in A.D. 997. The next half a century or more was dominated by the struggle for power and suzerainty between these powerful contenders, the Western Chāḷukyas on the one side and the Chōḷas on the other; and thus did the Krishṇā-Tungabhadrā hinterland see during this period, some of the bloodiest battles of the century.

CLASH WITH CHĀḶUKYAS:

The first head-on collision appears to have occurred even as early as in A.D. 992, in which Tailapa II claims, in one of his inscriptions[1], to have gained a victory over the Chōḻas. Between this year and A.D. 1003, by which time the numerous inscriptions of Rājarāja I abound in references to his conquest of the traditional Rāshṭrakūṭa country known as Raṭṭapāḍi, the seven and a half lakh country' (Iraṭṭaipāḍi-Ēḻarai-Ilakkam), further clashes must have occurred, resulting in the annexation of this territory to the Chōḻa kingdom, at least temporarily. There is no reason to disbelieve this Chōḻa claim of occupation. The Rāshṭrakūṭas themselves were in no position to stem the growing tide of Chōḻa might because of pressure on their northern borders from the hostile Paramāras of Mālwa, who would not forget the slight to their pride, inflicted first by Krishṇa III and later by Satyāśraya. But the utter absence of vestiges of Chōḻa occupation or rule of Raṭṭapāḍi, in contrast to the provenance of some, though not many , monuments in the regions of Taḍigaipāḍi, Noḷambapāḍi and Gangavāḍi, would seem to indicate only nominal victory over Satyāśraya, followed by a temporary hold over Raṭṭapāḍi and not any enduring occupation or annexation of the territory.

DEVELOPMENTS IN VENGI AND ITS ABSORPTION IN CHŌḺA EMPIRE

While these struggles went on, the subsequent developments in this region were triggered off by happenings in a neighbouring principality. We may now turn our attention to the region between the Krishṇā and the Gōdāvarī deltas known as Vengi. The kingdom of Vengi ruled by the Eastern Chāḷukyas had, after a vigorous existence for three hundred years, started tottering. The ambitions of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and later, of the Western Chāḷukyas in this region, were primarily directed towards integrating the kingdom into the Western Chāḷukyan empire. Disputed successions and fratricidal struggles for power had sucked into the vorṭex of the

1. ARE 36 of 1904.

internecine war both the ambitious rulers, Satyāśraya and Rājarāja. We are, however, not interested in the Eastern Chāḷukyan history in the years prior to the rise of Rājarāja I; suffice it to say that, as the latter came on the South Indian scene in the fourth quarter of the tenth century, we find the Telugu Chōḍa chief, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma (of Chāḷukyan extraction) ruling over Vengi (A.D. 973–1000). Bhīma was a powerful monarch who extended his rule over the Eastern Gangas of Kaḷinga as well as the Vaiḍumbas. Rājarāja I was forcibly drawn into the arena, consequent on an invasion by Bhīma of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region. The provocation for the attack, however, was provided by Rājarāja I, who had given asylum to the sons of the Eastern Chāḷukyan Vengi ruler, Dānārṇava, killed in battle in A.D. 973, by the usurper of the Vengi throne, the Jaṭā Chōḍa chief. The Eastern Chāḷukyan chronicles and records do not countenance Bhīma's rule as anything other than an interregnum. Rājarāja I's avowed object was to restore the Vengi throne to its rightful claimants, and in this endeavour, he was additionally motivated by the marital alliance he had brought about by giving his daughter Kundavai in wedlock to Vimalāditya, the younger son of Dānārṇava. Bhīma's incursion into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalaṁ ended in a fiasco. He was defeated and captured, and Śaktivarman, Dānārṇava's elder son, was restored to the ancestral throne, though in a subordinate capacity. Vengi thus became a part and province of the Chōḷa empire (A.D. 999).

CHĀḶUKYAS UNDER SATYĀŚRAYA:

This understandably irritated Satyāśraya Śaktivarman's loyalty to Rājarāja I is clearly explicable. Without his assistance Bhīma was more than a match for him. The marital alliance of his brother Vimalāditya with Kundavai further cemented their bond. Rājarāja's own plans of expansion found an easy opportunity in the troubled rule of Vengi and in the need to support the lawful claimants to the throne against the usurper. 'The coming of the Chōḷas brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to the declining dynasty which, sustained for nearly a century by the Chōḷas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance, soon

after more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to the continuance of the Chōḷa empire under Kulōttunga I and his successors.....'[1]. Unwilling to accept Vengi as a Chōḷa protectorate, if not a province, Satyāśraya invaded that kingdom in A.D. 1006, destroyed Dhānyakaṭaka and Yanamaṇḍala and set himself up at Chebrulu in the present-day Gunṭūr district (A.D. 1007).

CHŌḶA INVASION OF CHĀḶUKYAN KINGDOM:

Rājarāja I met this move by an outright, massive invasion of the Chāḷukyan kingdom, putting out on the field an enormous army estimated at 900,000, even by Satyāśraya's calculations. The young prince Nūrmaḍi Chōḷa Rājēndra Vidyādhara, the son of Rājarāja Nittavinōda (who later succeeded to the Chōḷa throne as Parakēsari Rājēndra I), advanced as far as Dōnūr (now in Bijapur district of Karnāṭaka State) 'plundered the whole country, killed women, children and Brāhmaṇas, caught hold of girls and destroyed their caste'[2], so says an inscription of Satyāśraya from Hōṭṭūr, in Dhārwār district of Karnāṭaka State. Allowing for exaggeration in the version of the defeated king, the invasion must have shaken up Satyāśraya who relented his hold over Vengi in an endeavour to contain Rājarāja's army. Reading between the lines of the conflicting versions, it is a fair guess that Rājarāja succeeded in wresting Vengi from the hands of Satyāśraya. Having demonstrated his anger and strength, he then either withdrew on his own or felt further advance a matter of unwisdom, and therefore left Tungabhadrā still to determine the boundary between the two powerful kingdoms. We have an oblique reference to the battle of Hōṭṭūr in an inscription in the Siddharatnēśvarar temple at Ūṭṭattūr in Trichy district. Dated in the 3rd year of Rājēndra I, corresponding to the last year of Rājarāja I, it refers to a gift made to the Mahādēvar of Ūṭṭattūr on behalf of one Śrutimān Nakkan Chandiran alias Rājamalla Muttaraiyan of the elephant corps who was killed in the battle of Hōṭṭūr, fought between Rājēndra I (as crown Prince) and Iravēdanga

1. The Colas, Ist Edition, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 212–13.
2. Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 433; ARE 515 of 1912.

Satyāśraya, while carrying out the orders of the king to pierce the enemy's elephant.[1]

The reference to the Chāḷukyan wars is brief in the Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plates:[2]

' 81. This is strange that Satyāśraya fled to avoid misery from the attack of his (Aruṇmoḻivarman's) oceanlike army, (still) misery found an (permanent) abode in him. But this is not strange that his flight is due to (i.e. the result of his) birth from Taila.

' 82. "Since Rājarāja, an expert in war (of the same name as myself) has been killed by a powerful club, I shall, therefore, kill that Āndhra (king) called Bhīma, though may be flawless"—on saying, he (Aruṇmoḻivarman) killed him (Bhīma) with a mace.'

By way of a mopping up operation in aid of Vimalāditya[3] (acc. A.D. 1011), who had succeeded Śaktivarman to the throne of Vengi, Rājarāja deputed his son at the head of a force to suppress the turbulent local chief, king of Kuluta, also called Vimalāditya, who had evidently denied allegiance to the ruler of Vengi. This information is contained in two inscriptions[4] from Mahēndragiri in Orissa which mention that Rājēndra I erected a pillar of victory on the peak of the Mahēndragiri. This operation would appear to have taken place even during the lifetime of Rājarāja I, who legitimately claims the conquest of Kaḷinga in his praśastis, and, for the same reason, it does not find mention in his son Rājēndra's achievements.

NAVAL CONQUESTS:

If Rājarāja's 'ocean-like army' bestrode the vast peninsula, conquering new lands and ever adding to the size of the empire, his

1. ARE 515 of 1912.
2. SII, III, Pt. III, 205.
3. In the Vaḍa Kailāsam shrine built by Rājarāja's principal queen Lōkamahādēvi in the campus of the Panchanadīśvarar temple at Tiruvaiyāru (Tanjāvūr district) there is an interesting inscription of the 29th year of Rājarāja I mentioning the gifts made by Vishṇuvardhana Mahādēvar alias Vimalāditya Dēvar of Vengi nāḍu, who was married to Kundavai, the daughter of Rājarāja I. They comprise eight pieces of silver pots (veḷḷi-kalaśam) weighing 1148 kaḷanjus, to be used during worship of the Mahādēvar of Ulōkamahādēvīśvaram at the dēvadāna village of Tiruvaiyāru (SII, V, No. 514; ARE 215 of 1894).
4. ARE 396 & 397 of 1896.

navy, showing its prowess in the operations off the coast of Śālai, in the early years of his reign, steadily grew in size and strength. The last of his conquests, before he turned his attention to acts of piety and streamlining the administration of the empire, was of the 'twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea' ('munnīr paḻandīvu Pannīrāyiramum')[1], which have been identified with the present day Maldive islands about 400 miles south south-west of the peninsular cape.

MALDIVE ISLANDS:

With the conquest of the Maldive islands, Rājarāja's empire could be said to have stretched from coast to coast in an east to west direction, from the twelve thousand islands and Śrī Lankā in the south to the banks of the Tungabhadrā in the north and upto, and including, Kaḷinga in the north-east.

HIS CONQUESTS SUMMARISED:

The Tiruvālangāḍu Copper Plates summarise these conquests in the following verses:

'83. Having conquered the country—the creation of Rāma (i.e. Paraśurāma) whose beloved vow was to annihilate the Kshtra race—(the country), which was adorned with pious people, was matchless and inaccessible on account of the mountains and the ocean, he caused abundant joy to all kings that held a bow and made his commands shine on the rows of the diadems of all rulers of the earth.'

'84. Having subdued in battle the Ganga, Kaḷinga, Vanga, Magadha, Araṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Saurāshṭra, Chāḷukya and other kings, and having received homage from them, the glorious Rājarāja, a rising Sun in opening the cluster of lotuses, viz., the faces of assembled learned men, ruled the earth, whose girdle is the waters of all oceans.'

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1. The king of this group of islands assumed the title of the king of twelve thousand islands—see The Cōḻas, K.A. Nilakanta Śāstri; 1st Ed., footnote p. 220.

The Larger Leyden Grant[1], however, makes a sweeping summary of his conquests:

'Verse 30: When the chief (Madhurāntaka Uttama Chōḷa) of the rulers of the world passed away, to protect the abode of the gods, the heroic Rājarāja, the light of the Chōḷa race whose footstool was licked (i.e. rubbed) by glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burdens of the earth on his arm, which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Śēsha, the Lord of Serpents.'

'Verse 31: Conquering the kings of Pāṇḍiya, Tuḷu and Kēraḷa (countries, and) Simhaḷēndra and Satyāśraya and others by the power of his arms and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems and kingdoms, he caused to glow all the ten quarters with (his) fame.'

'Verse 32: Having accomplished the conquest of the regions and made all kings tributary, that lord of kings Rājarāja lives happily in his town, honoured by his people, just as Indra worshipped by the world was, in heaven.'

'Verse 33: As far as the mountain which has the glory of bringing forth the Sun, as far as the Southern ocean, as far as the mountain named Asta and as far as the Lord of Mountains (i.e. the Himālayas) occupied by Śambhu, the kings that were concerned with the protection of their own families sagaciously sought refuge in the pair of lotus feet of Nittavinōda (i.e., Rājarāja), in order to enjoy many pleasures.'

Vīra Rājēndra's Kanyā Kumāri stone inscription[2] makes only a fleeting reference to his grandfather's achievements (to Satyāśraya's fleeing from the battlefield) and nothing more.

Yet another source material on Rājarāja's conquests is the Karandai Tamiḻ Śangam Copper Plate Grant[3] of Rājēndra I dated in his 8th regnal year (A.D. 1020). It deals with the gift of 52 villages as brahmadēya to 1080 learned recipients. Tracing the ancestry of the king from mythological and Puranic heroes the preamble in Sanskrit mentions Rājarāja's achievements including the subjugation of

1. Epigraphia Indica, XXII, 34.
2. Epigraphia Indica, XV and XVIII.
3. ARE, 1949–50: Sec. A, 57 and 58.

the Simhaḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kings, the Kongēśvaras, Malavas, Telungas, Gangas, Vangas, Magadhas, Chāḷukyas and Kuru nāḍu. It also mentions that he won a great victory over Satyāśraya, defeated Gaṇarāja beheading him in battle and captured alive Kēśavan, the General of Satyāśraya.

We have no information to corroborate the claims made in these praśastis of Rājarāja's conquest of Magadha or Vanga country or Oḍḍa and Saurāshṭra countries; they might be left aside as poetic fancy in dealing with a king who knew no defeat and for whose formidable army no task was too great.

A summary of all his conquests is best taken from the common praśasti of Rājarāja, as contained in the several inscriptions dated in his 29th year, found in the Rājarājēśvaram as well as in many other temples. Rendered in English, it reads:

'Hail Prosperity: Until the 29th year (of the reign) of Kō-Rājakēsarivarman, *alias* Śrī Rājarājadēva, who—while (his) heart rejoiced that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become his wife—in his life of growing strength, during which having been pleased to destroy the (Chēra) ships at Kāndaḷūr, he conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles, Vengi nāḍu, Gangaipāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Noḷambapāḍi, Kuḍamalai nāḍu, Kollam, Kaḷingam, Īḷa-maṇḍalam (which was the land of the Simhaḷas who possessed rough strength), the seven and a half lakhs region of Raṭṭapāḍi, and the twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea, deprived the Śēliyars of their splendour......'[1]

RĀJĒNDRA—A GENERAL UNDER HIS FATHER

Rājēndra I must have been a child even as Rājarāja I ascended the throne but towards the last few years of Rājarāja's rule, he took a leading part in various campaigns of conquest. We have noticed that he commanded the enormous force that invaded the Chāḷukyan kingdom and gave battle to Satyāśraya at Hōṭṭūr (A.D. 1007). Rājarāja made him the heir-apparent in A.D. 1012 when he was hardly twenty-five or so.

1. SII, II, no. 6.

RĀJARĀJA'S DEATH

In the temple of Tanjāvūr built by Rājarāja I, all the grants and donations made on various earlier dates were engraved by royal order in the 29th year of his reign. We have no records except for a mutilated one of his reign pertaining to a later regnal year; it is dated in the 31st year of one Rājakēsari Rājarājadēva. We may, however, take his reign to have lasted 29 momentous years. He pulled the dwindled principality of Uttama Chōḷa from a state of near extinction and raised it to the pedestal of a transoceanic power, with overseas contacts, treaties and alliances and an army of formidable strength.

CHŌḶAS IN THEIR HOUR OF GLORY:

In the history of every dynasty, as perhaps in that of every human institution, there is a period of agonising adolescence, full of fluctuating fortunes and hopes, followed by a sudden outburst of energy and self-assurance, on the crest of which the fortunes of the dynasty sail for a while, longer or shorter as the case may be; thereafter comes the inevitable trough of defeats, erosion of authority and a pitiful petering out to an unsung end. In the case of the Chōḷas, the most glorious period is the middle one commencing with the accession of Rājarāja I and ending with the extinction of the direct line of the Vijayālaya House in A.D. 1070. If historians tend to associate the Chōḷa empire with the names of Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndra I, there is much validity in it. But as between them, Rājēndra had the advantage of having merely to build upon the edifice that Rājarāja had so sedulously erected.

OVERSEAS CONTACTS:

Close concourse between the kingdoms in the South-East Asian archipelago and the kingdoms of the eastern coast of India had subsisted for over a millenium, even before the Chōḷas had come to power. The Śatavāhanas at the commencement of the Christian era, and later the Pallavas, the Vangas and the Kaḷingas all had extensive maritime, religious and political contacts with Burma, China and the

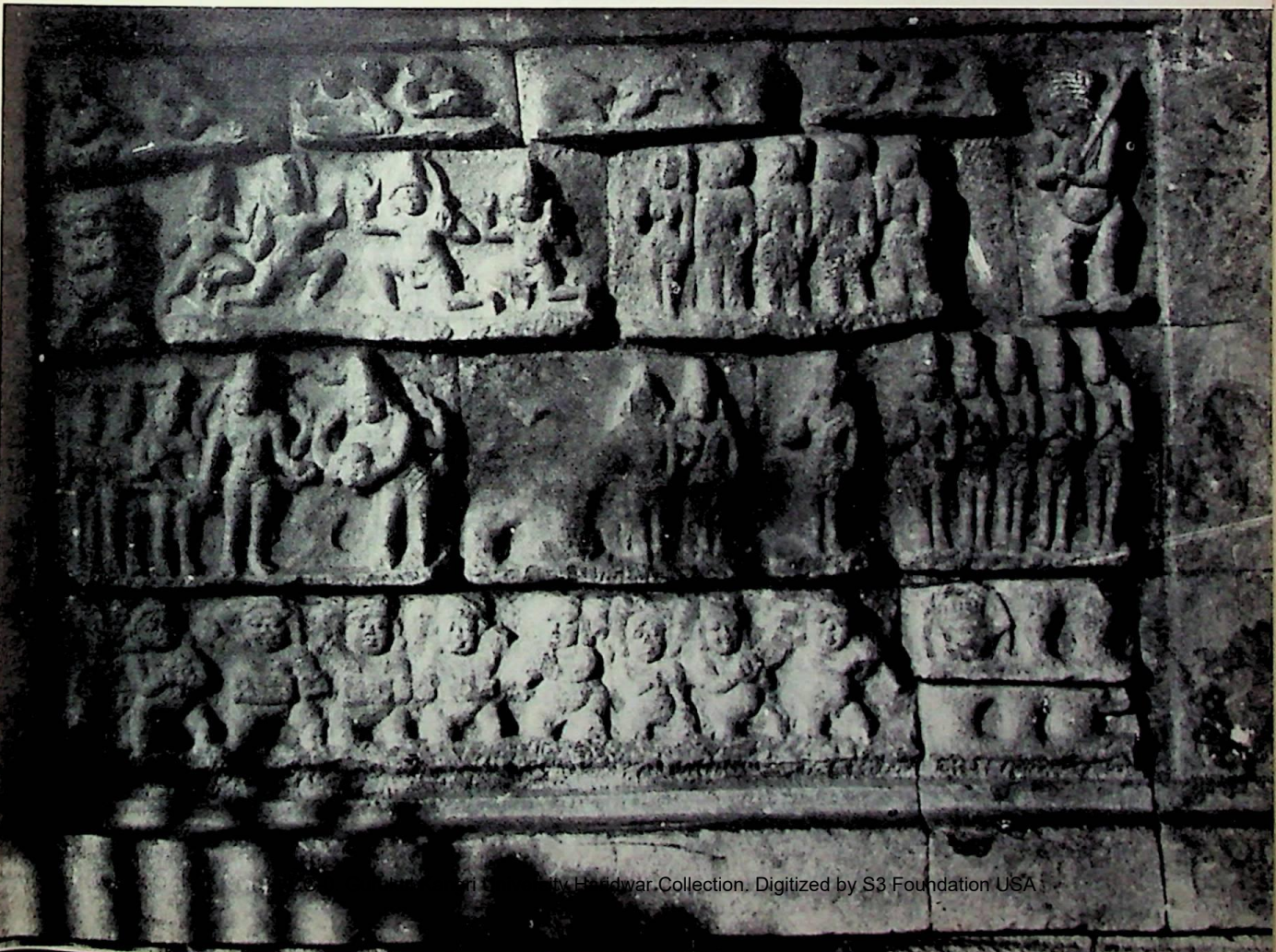
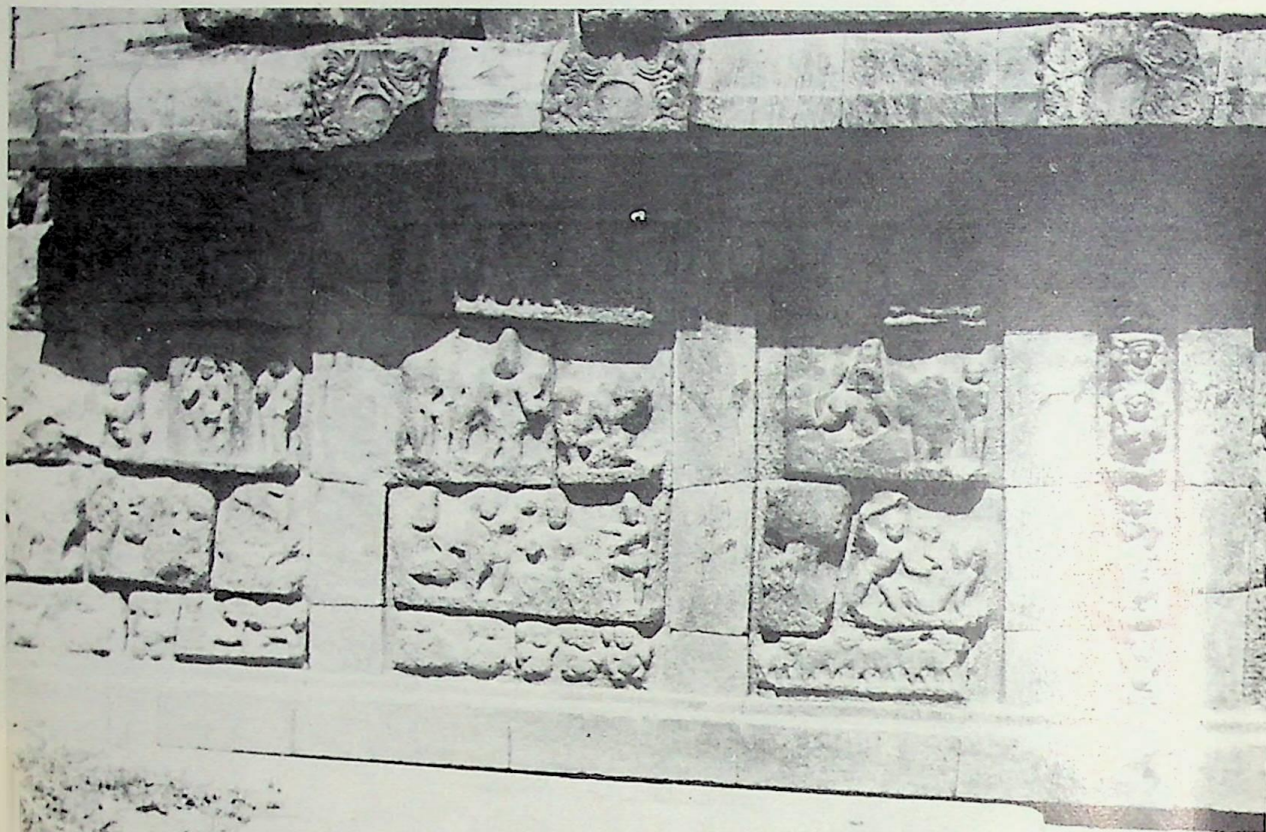
countries of the South-East Asian region. By the middle of the 10th century, the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya and Kaṭāha (Kaḍāram), straddling the Malay peninsula and the islands of Sumātra and Jāva, had grown into a powerful maritime empire, under its celebrated king, Chūḷāmaṇivarman who was a contemporary of Rājarāja I. The Larger Leyden Grant[1] we have quoted profusely from deals with the grant of an entire village with its produce for the maintenance of a Buddhist vihāra, set up by this king at Nāgapaṭṭinam, an important port on the eastern coastline of the Chōḷa kingdom. The two great emperors were evidently on friendly terms, and the vihāra, which must have been a big one, took a long time to build, for we hear of the Chūḷāmaṇivarman-vihāra as undertaken even by the 21st year of Rājarāja I. It was evidently completed in the days of his son and successor Māravijayōttunga-varman, who was a contemporary of Rājēndra I. The number of years taken for the building of the vihāra, which were not less than nine, and the munificent grant, made to it by Rājarāja I, of the entire income from the village of Ānaimangalam amounting to over 8943 kalams of paddy anually for the upkeep of the paḷḷi (the Buddhist shrine) in it, bespeak its loftiness. The structure, in the words of the scribe of the praśasti, is said to have 'lowered' (dwarfed) even Kanakagiri, the Mēru mountain.

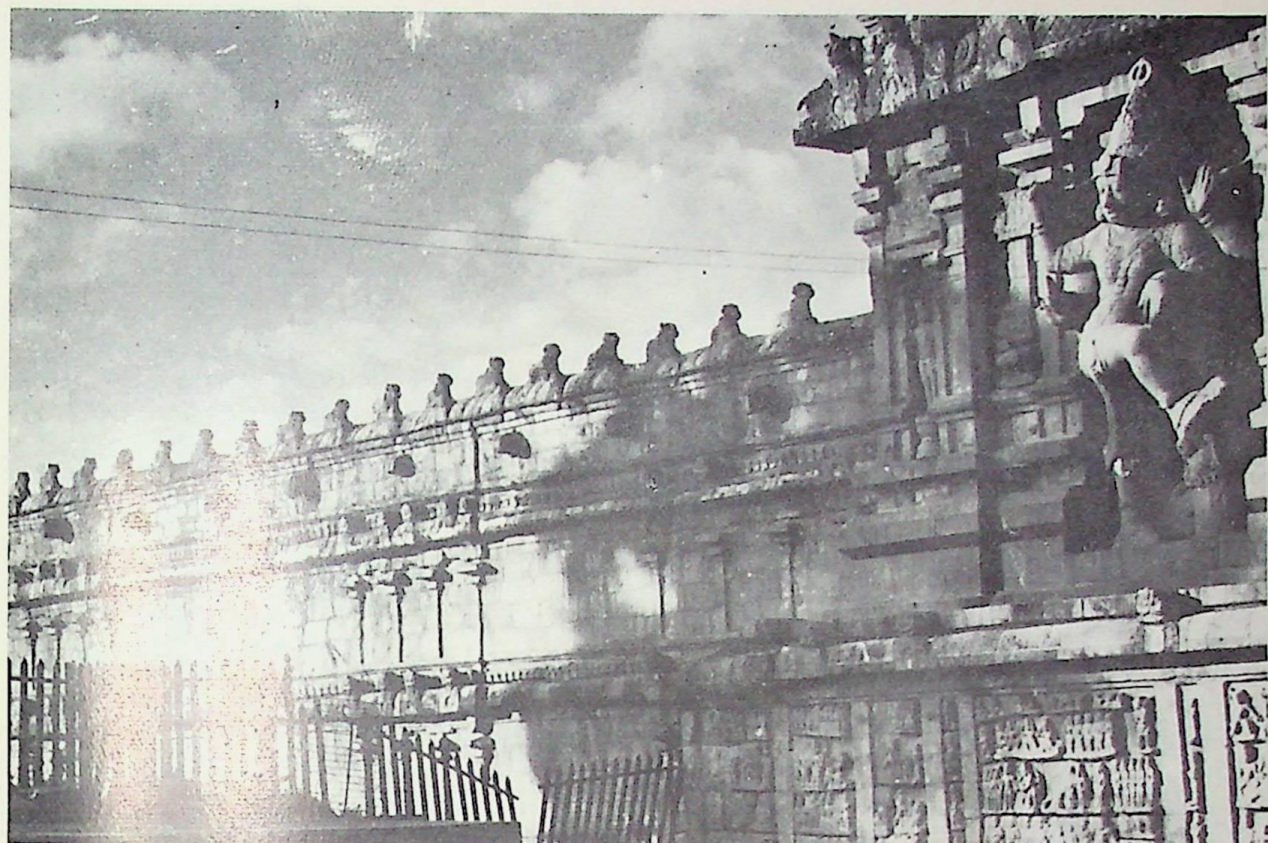
RĀJARĀJA—HIS RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND CATHOLICITY

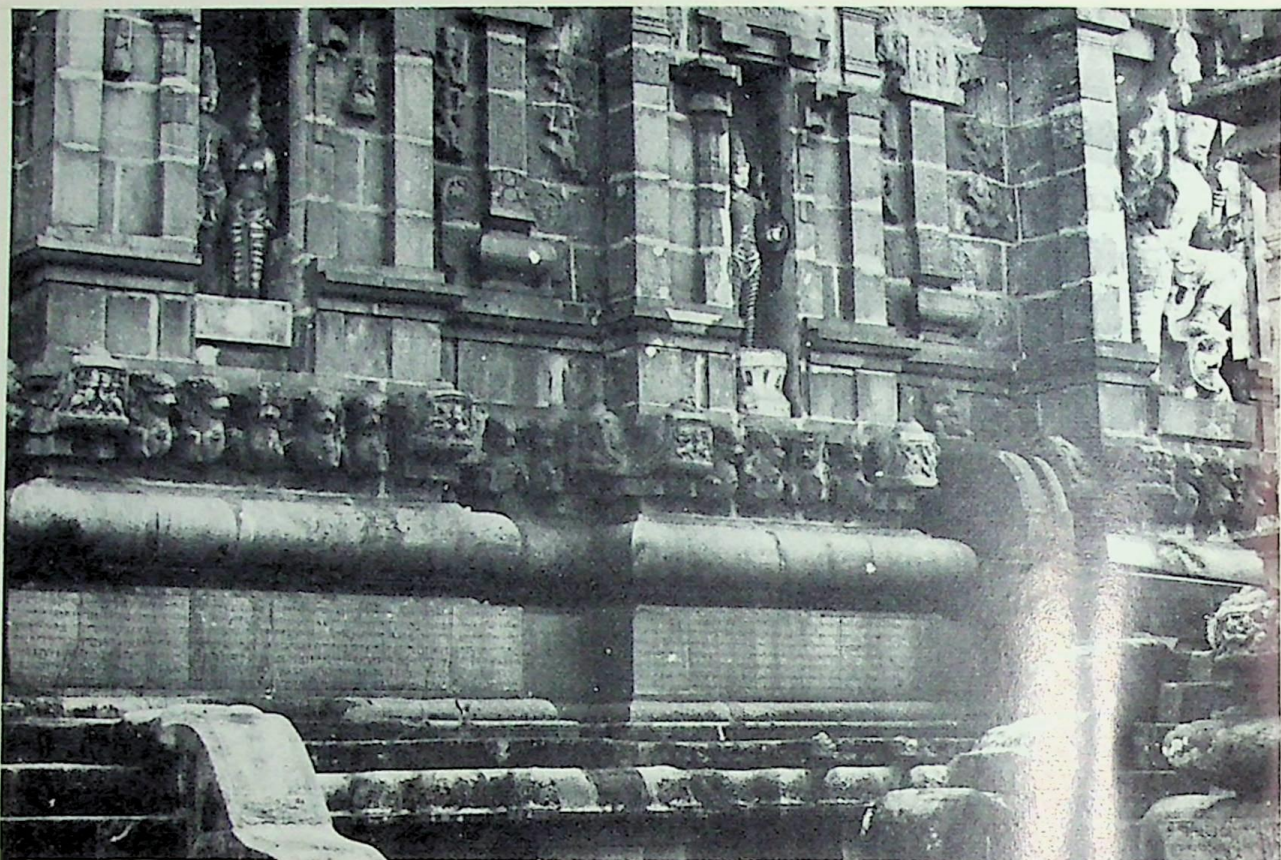
It redounds to the credit of Rājarāja I that he constructed a variety of temples dedicated to Śiva, Vishṇu, the Buddha and the Jina. At the capital he built the peerless Rājarājēśvaram. His sister Kundavai built three temples of almost identical specifications at Rājarājapuram (modern Dādāpuram in South Ārcoṭ district); one is known as Maṇikaṇthēśvaram, whose original name, according to inscriptions, was Ravi Kula Mānikkēśvaram (Ravikulamāṇikka being a surname of Rājarāja I), the second is Karivarada perumāḷ temple, which was originally known, name again according to inscriptions,

1. Epigraphia Indica, XXII, 34.

5A. Gōpura-dvāra wall surface treatment, showing the dvarapāla and the decorative panels below

5B. Paurānic panels below the dvārapāla

6A. Panels of Paurānic themes on the basement of the inner gōpuram (western face)

6B. Panels of Paurānic themes on the basement of the inner gōpuram (further details)

7A. The outer wall of enclosure (east)

7B. Aṇukkan Tiru-vāśal (northern entrance to the ardhamaṇḍapa)

8A. Śrīvimāna, bhitti (north face)

8B. Steps leading to Aṇukka tiru-vāśal (with cameos on the flanks)

as Kundavai viṇṇagar (viṇṇagar being a corruption of Vishṇugriham, a house of Vishṇu); and the third one is Kundavai Jīnālaya—all the three dedicated, as the names imply, to Śiva, Vishṇu and the Jīna. We hear of another Kundavai Jīnālaya near Pōḷūr in North Ārcoṭ district. In the mercantile community centre of Lōkamahādēvipuram (now corrupted into Olagāpuram in South Ārcoṭ district), set up in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam near the sea port of Eyilpaṭna (modern Marakkāṇam), Rājarāja's principal queen Lōkamahādēvi, after whom the township was named, had a temple constructed for Śiva called Arikulakēsari Īśvaram (modern Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple) another for Vishṇu called Arinjigai-Viṇṇagar (now called Dēvarāya Perumāḷ temple), and a third one presumably for the Buddha named Sundaraśōḷapperumpaḷḷi (now no longer traceable). In the conquered region of Gangaivāḍi, in the city of Māḷur Patna (now a small village near Channapatna) on the banks of the Kaṇva, were built two temples side by side; Aruṇmoḻidēvīśvaram, a Śiva temple named after a surname of Rājarāja I and Jayankoṇḍaśōḻa viṇṇagar, a Vishṇu temple, named again after another surname of Rājarāja I. At the Ganga capital of Talaikkāḍu, which was renamed Jananāthapuram, a Vishṇu temple named Ravikula Māṇikka Viṇṇagar (now called Janārdhana temple) was constructed. Ravikula Maṇīkkam, as we saw earlier[1], was one of the many surnames of Rājarāja, and so was Jananātha. A feature particularly noticed in the Pāṇḍyan and Śrī Lanka regions was the construction of a shrine for Paḷḷikoṇḍār (Vishṇu reclining on the Ādī Śēsha) as a part of a Śiva temple. Examples of such shrines are found in the Śiva Dēvāle No. 2 (whose ancient name was Vānavan Mahādēvi Īśvaram) in Polonnaruva in Śrī Lanka, in the Sōmēśvarar temple at Āttūr in Tirunelvēli district, and in the Nelliyappar temple in Tirunelvēli town itself.[2]

RĀJARĀJA —A DEVOUT ŚAIVITE:

Rājarāja I himself was a devout Śaivite, an outstanding example of his devotion being the temple of Rājarājēśvaram which he built in

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1. See p. 49.
2. For a full list of temples definitely attributable to him, please see Appendix A (pp. 283-4)

the Chōḷa capital. In recognition of his services to the Śaiva faith, and his role in the miraculous recovery of the lost Dēvāram hymns, he was bestowed the title of Śivapādaśēkhara. Inspite of his own predilections, his attitude to other religions and sects was one of complete liberalism, as proved by the many temples which he, his queens and his sister, as well as his nobles and generals, built for Śiva, Vishṇu, the Jīna and the Buddha, not only in the metropolitan province but also in the outlying regions of the empire. Rājarāja was representative of an age and its mood of liberalism that was absent in the days of intolerant persecution of the Jainas and the Buddhists, that followed close on the heels of Śaivite revivalism in the 7th and 8th centuries.

RĀJARĀJA—HIS PERSONALITY

We have no contemporary records mentioning details of Rājarāja's personality, his physical features or his mental qualities. We have, however, at two places in the vestibule between the outer and the inner walls of the garbhagriha of the Rājarājēśvaram temple line sketches of two majestic male figures identified as Rājarāja and his preceptor Karuvūr Dēvar. The main figure presents a lordly mein, with an expression suggesting a mixture of compassion and determination. There is a small panel at Tiruviśalūr, purporting to portray Rājarāja and his queen Danti Śakti Viṭanki, who bore the alternate name of Lōkamahādēvi, in a posture of worshipping the Mahādēva of Tiruviśalūr. We are aware, from an inscription[1] engraved below the portrait-sculpture, that in his last year (i.e. 29th regnal year) he and his queen paid homage to the Lord of this place, and on that occasion he performed the tulābhāra (a ceremony of being weighed against gold or precious stones) while his queen did the hiraṇyagarbha ceremony. We have corroboration of this from an inscription in the Kshētrapāla shrine in the campus of the Kapardīśvarar temple at Tiruvalanjuḻi to the effect that a gift of two gold flowers to the Lord Kshētrapāladēvar was made by Danti Śakti

1. ARE 633-C of 1902; SII, VIII, No. 237.

Viṭanki (who had built that shrine) out of the gold used by her for the hiraṇyagarbha ceremony at Tiruviśalūr.

An attempt has been made to identify the two devotees carved by the side of the image of Lakshmi in the Rājarājēśvaram temple at Tanjāvūr as being Rājarāja and his guru Karuvūr Dēvar.

RĀJARĀJA—AN ASTUTE POLITICIAN

Rājarāja was an astute politician, a military genius and a great administrator. As seen earlier, he had allowed sixteen years to go before claiming the throne for himself, as any intemperate or premature assertion of his rights might have torn the dwindled empire to bits and perhaps even cost him his life. But, when once he was on the throne, he lost no time in taking steps to lawfully punish the men responsible for the murder of his brother.

RĀJARĀJA—HIS ATTACHMENT TO HIS RELATIVES

He would appear to have had a deep and abiding sense of loyalty to his kith and kin and, fully sharing with him this sentiment, was his sister with whom he seems to have had a close bond. His devotion to his grandfather, Arinjaya, was shown through a number of temples erected and dedicated to his memory, which, to mention only two, are Arinjigai viṇṇagar at Olagāpuram and Arinjigai Īśvaram (currently called Chōḻēśvaram) at Mēlpāḍi.

Rājarāja's dedication to his father was tinged with a sense of sorrow at the predicament he had been placed in during the last years of his reign by his uncle Uttama Chōḻa. Poignancy was added to his devotion by his mother's self-immolation on the funeral pyre of his father. As an act of filial piety, he erected many temples in the name of his father Sundara Chōḻa. To mention only a few, in Olagāpuram, referred to earlier, a paḻḻi for the Jīna named Sundara Śōḻapperumpaḻḻi was set up. A Vishṇu temple was built at Tanjāvūr, the Chōḻa capital, and named Sundara Chōḻa Viṇṇagar after Sundara Chōḻa. Of this, however, we have no other details than that a hospital was attached to it, known as Sundara Chōḻa Viṇṇagar ātular-śālai (ātular-śālai = hospital), for which Rājarāja's sister

Kundavai made a gift of a house-site of one ground and a half and also some other land, as vaidya bhōga, to Savarṇan Araiyan Madhurāntakan of village Marugal, who was evidently the chief of the hospital, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants.[1]

KUNDAVAI'S SPECIAL PLACE IN HIS SCHEME OF THINGS:

A proof of the special place that his elder sister Kundavai had enjoyed in the heart, as well as in the Court, of Rājarāja is supplied by the famous inscription[2] dated in his 29th year and engraved on the north wall of the garbhagriha of the Rājarājēśvaram temple. It reads: 'Let the gifts made by us (Rājarāja himself), by (our) elder sister (Kundavai), those made by our queens and those made by the other donors to the Lord.........be engraved on stone on the sacred shrine (śrīvimāna).........(nān koḍuttanavum akkan koḍuttanavum....)'. As we shall see later, next to Rājarāja the largest contribution to the enriching of the temple of Rājarājēśvaram, the maintenance of various services and the celebration of festivals was made by his sister Kundavai. We have already referred to the temples she had built at Rājarājapuram (Dādāpuram) which was in the region her husband Vandyadēva administered on behalf of the Emperor. She was second again only to Rājarāja in the number of metallic images of deities set up in the Rājarājēśvaram temple, her contribution being the images of the consorts of the main deities set up by Rājarāja such as Āḍavallār, Dakshina Mēru Viṭankar, and Tanjai Viṭankar. All these consorts went under the name of Umā-Paramēśvari.

GRANDAUNT ŚEMBIYAN MAHĀDĒVI

An entirely different plane of relationship subsisted between Rājarāja and his grand aunt, Śembiyan Mahādēvi. As seen earlier, a noble dowager, widowed early in life, she turned all her energies to the building of temples and casting of bronzes, the quality and the

1. ARE 249 of 1923.
2. SII, II, No. 1.

profusion of which are excelled, if at all, only in the days of Rājarāja I, in the entire history of metal casting. In fact, Śembiyan Mahādēvi was the model for and a preceptor of Rājarāja, whose venerable dedication and almost reverential love for this remarkable old lady was not marred in any way by her own son's unbecoming conduct. Rājarāja's forbearance was matched by her own zealous attachment to her grandnephew and, as if in expiation of her son's sins, she spent all her wealth and energy in raising several temples of great beauty.[1] Even assuming that, at the time of her husband Gaṇḍarāditya's death (A.D. 957), she was in her twenties, she could be seen making grants and donations as late as in A.D. 1006 (i.e., in the third quarter of Rājarāja's reign), thus living, we may presume, to a venerable age of almost eighty years or more. It is interesting to note that in memory of this lady and to discharge his duty by her, Rājarāja caused a maṇḍapa, named Śembiyan Mahādēvi to be constructed at Tirumukkūḍal in Chingleput district.[2]

HIS ADMINISTRATION

A great administrator that he was Rājarāja instituted a system of associating his sons and relatives in the administration of the land, thus giving them a sense of participation and involvement in the governance of the empire. He appointed his cousin, Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, to a high office in the state. He introduced the scheme of appointing the royal princes as governors of the outlying provinces. His son and the future Crown-prince, Rājendra functioned as a regional governor of Pāṇḍi nāḍu and Īḻam (Śrī Lanka). He was the first among the Governors to call themselves Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya, a tradition that continued through the Middle Chōḻa period; they assumed the traditional Pāṇḍyan birudas (titles) of 'Jaṭāvarman' and 'Māravarman'. We often hear of the same prince, 'the tusker of Mummuḍi Chōḻa', being made the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Vengi and Gangai maṇḍalams. This system was to be exploited with great success by Rājēndra I, when he appointed his

1. ARE 178 of 1915. These temples have been dealt with in detail in my book, 'Temple Art Under The Chōla Queens' (ch. 2).
2. ARE 171 of 1915; also Middle Chola Temples, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, p. 165.

sons to Governorships in the various provinces, particularly in Pāṇḍi nāḍu. His brother-in-law and Kundavai's husband Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, a chieftain in what is today the South Ārcoṭ district, played an important role in administering a region that was to become, during the days of Rājarāja's successors, a turbulent and vulnerable one.

RĀJARĀJA AND VENGI

We have already seen how Rājarāja refused to be tempted by the throne when he felt the political climate was not yet favourable. But his masterly stroke of political wisdom was his giving his daughter Kundavai in marriage to the younger son of Dānārṇava of Vengi, by which act he not only freed the Eastern Chāḷukyas from the clutches of the Western Chāḷukyas who had been ceaselessly attempting to annex Vengi, but also achieved a cohesion between the Vengi and the Chōḻa houses. This tie stood unbroken through all the turbulent wars between the Chōḻas and the Western Chāḷukyas. With each succeeding generation, the alliance was further cemented by the practice of each succeeding Eastern Chāḷukyan prince marrying his uncle's daughter who was a Chōḻa Princess, as illustrated in the genealogical table at page 49. In fact, the relationship between the families was getting closer and closer with the passage of time, till at last, on the extinction of the male line in the Chōḻa House of Vijayālaya, the Chāḷukyan family produced a king who, so describes the great Tamiḻ epic, Kalingattup-paraṇi, 'was born to rule under one umbrella the two kingdoms of the royal Houses of the Lunar i.e. the Eastern Chāḷukyan and the Solar i.e. the Chōḻa dynasties, which extended upto the limits of the sea and the sky.'

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

We have very little evidence on Rājarāja's international relations except two stray instances; one relating to the Śailēndras and the other to an embassy that he sent to China, in the closing years of his reign, which reached there three years later after visiting various intermediate cities and kingdoms. On the relationship with the

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE CHOLAS
Parakesari Vijayalaya (850-871)
Rajakesari Aditya I (871-907)
Maduraikonda Parakesari
Parantaka I (907-955)
EASTERN CHALUKYAS
Rajaditya (947-49)
(killed at Takkolam)
Rajakesari Gandaraditya = Sembiyan Mahadevi
(949-957)
Arinjaya (956-967)
Rajakesari Sundara
Chola Parantaka II = Vanavan Mahadevi
(956-73)
Danarnava (970-73)
Parakesari Gandan Madhurantaka Uttama Chola
(969-985)
Parakesari Aditya II (964-69)
d. Akkan Kundavai
Rajarajakesari
Rajaraja I
(985-1014)
Saktivaraman I
(1000-11)
Parakesari Rajendra I
(1012-44)
d. Kundavai = Vimaladitya (1011-18) = Medava Devi
Rajadhiraja I
(1018-54)
Rajendra II
(1052-63)
Vira Rajendra
(1063-9)
Adi Rajendra (1067/8-1070)
d. Ammanga devi = Rajaraja Narendra
(1019-61)
Vijayaditya
VII
Rajamahendra
(1060-63)
d. Madhurantaki = Rajendra alias Kulottunga I
(1070-1120)
Saktivarman
II

Śailēndras, there is a wealth of material, not only from Chōḷa sources like the Larger Leyden Grant but also from sources indigenous to Sumātra and Malaysia. The Śailēndra kings were on friendly terms with Indian princes and the Chinese emperor. The cordial relationship that existed between Rājarāja I and both the Śailēndra kings, Chūḷāmaṇivarman and his son Māravijayōttungavarman (acc. A.D. 1003-5) continued well into the reign of Rājēndra I, though after a few years hostilities broke out when Rājēndra Chōḷa sent out his famous naval expedition beyond the seas resulting in the humbling of his mighty enemy the Śailēndra king. An impressive list of regions conquered in this successful naval expedition is contained in a number of inscriptions of Rājēndra I's, commencing from his 14th year. In other words by A.D. 1026, the two great empires had fallen out, and Rājēndra's punitive expedition resulted in the Śailēndra kingdom being temporarily annexed to the Chōḷa empire. But the hold over this transoceanic territory loosened after Rājēndra's death, particularly with renewed wars that broke out with the Western Chāḷukyas. By the time of Kulōttunga I, i.e., after half a century or so (A.D. 1070), we find a renewal of the friendly relations between the two empires, as attested by the Smaller Leyden Grant.

CHŌḶA NAVY

The credit for building up a militant navy capable of crossing the high seas to beard the lion in his den, as it were, should go to Rājarāja I. Indian mercantile navy dates back to the distant past; it was not less than a thousand years old even in the days of Rājarāja I. Intimate commercial, cultural and religious intercourse had flourished during the millenium and more preceding the accession of Rājarāja I. But whereas during the days of the Śātavāhana, Pāṇḍya, Pallava and Kaḷinga rule, the navy only busied itself in international trade from Basra to the China seas, in the reign of Rājarāja I, it mustered a fleet of massive dimensions, coupled with considerable striking power.

We have earlier referred to the Kāndaḷūr Śālai victory over the Chēra fleet. The cue was taken by the other maritime powers also, the Simhaḷa and Śailēndra kings building enormous navies that

could be marshalled into an off-the-coast engagement. In rapid stages Rājarāja built up his navy, so that, towards the end of his reign, it had not only neutralised the Sinhalese navy, but, as seen earlier, had also sailed a 500-mile distance to the "Twelve Thousand Ancient Islands" (the Maldives) to defeat their king and annexe the islands to the empire. The navy of Rājarāja, moreover, was to rise to its pinnacle of achievement under Rājēndra I when it could take in its stride campaigns lasting many months or years, in places as widely distributed as Pannai, Malaiyūr, Māyiruḍingam, Māppapālam, Talaittakkōlam, Mā-Da-mālingam, Ilāmuridēśam, Mā-Nakkavāram and Kaḍāram—regions that extended from South Burma through the entire Malay peninsula to the island of Sumātrā.

The 15th year of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1027) marks the zenith of Chōḷa glory. Barring the Chāḷukyan kingdom, the empire covered the entire South Indian peninsula and the neighbouring islands of Śrī Lanka, Malayadvīpam and Lakshadvīpam; and besides the Chōḷa control extended over the full stretch of the Śrīvijaya and Kaḍāram regions, even if they were not formally incorporated in the mainland empire. The successors of Rājeṅdra, however, were unable to hold on to this vast empire. By the end of the sixties of the eleventh century, the zenith had passed and the empire, through inability to hold itself together, had to shed some of its territorial accretions at the fringes. (See map at p. 90).

RĀJARĀJA'S ARMY:

Rājarāja's army must have been of enormous size. Even according to Western Chāḷukyan sources, the strength of the army that Rājarāja sent into the Western Chāḷukyan territory under the command of his son was nine hundred thousand. With the contingents stationed at strategic military stations, including the force in Śrī Lanka (around 90,000), the Chōḷa army was well over a million men strong. Besides, Rājarāja instituted the policy of setting up cantonments at strategic points in various parts of the newly acquired empire. We are aware that at Brahmadēśam and Tiruvālīśvaram in Tirunelvēli district, as well as at Kōṭṭāru (modern Nāgerkōyil in Kanyā Kumāri district), he set up such cantonments.

Though we have no epigraphical evidence of such cantonments in Śrī Lanka, the presence there of a section of the mainland community known as the Vēlaikkārars[1] is confirmed both by Chōḷa inscriptions and by the Simhaḷa chronicle, the Mahāvamśa. We have already noted the existence of a 90,000 strong army contingent in Śrī Lanka. Again we see Mārāyan Arumoḷi, the son of the famous General Nārakkan Krishṇan Rāman who built the perimeter wall of the Rājarājēśvaram temple, operating in the days of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I from Kuvaḷāḷam (modern Kōlār) in Karnāṭaka. A whole contingent of the Chōḷa army, including all reserves needed in a distant land for replacement of casualties, must have moved in ships to wage wars with Śrī Lanka and later with the 'Ancient Islands'. Thus Rājarāja I's standing army was called upon to keep peace in the conquered territories and, in addition, carry on the frontier wars across the Tungabhadrā. If, therefore, we estimate the Chōḷa army at anything above a million and a quarter in strength, it would still be an underestimation especially when we remember that it was not always according to his wishes that Rājarāja could deploy his army. The turbulance of the Chēra principalities and the recalcitrance of the Pāṇḍyan chiefs had to be met by armed contingents located more or less on a permanent basis in cantonments which, apart from functioning as the regimental headquarters for training, recouperation and rest, also functioned as focal points from which troops were ever ready to strike, should there be any eruption, discontent or rebellion. In the next chapter, we shall see how Rājarāja had kept the army occupied when it was held in reserve for emergency, as at Tiruvālīśvaram (i.e. Brahmadēśam) in Pāṇḍi nāḍu. According to an inscription in the Tiruvālīśvarar temple, by royal order, the temple, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of a corps of the Chōḷa army, designated as the Mūnru-kai-Mahāśēnai.

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1. We have vast material to confirm, as will be seen in the descriptive chapter on the temple of Rājarājēśvaram, that the vēlaikkārars were a type of crack troopers dedicated to the defence of the motherland, and in lieu of certain privileges, enjoined to ensure the personal security of royal personages even at the cost of their lives.

ARMY DIVISIONS AND REGIMENTS:

From the inscriptions in the Rājarājēśvaram temple we get some interesting glimpses into the terminology used to describe the various units of the army.

We hear of the Paṇḍitaśōḻa terinda Villāḷigaḷ, meaning the crack archers of Paṇḍitaśōḻa who formed a part of the main division of the army known as Niyamam Perundanattu Valangai Vēlaikkāra Paḍaigaḷ (which literally means 'the troops of the servants of the right hand (sects) of the Larger Treasure'. This archer contingent was entrusted with the responsibility, presumably in peace time and in token of recognition of services rendered on the battlefield, of ensuring smooth conduct of services to the main deity of the great temple at Tanjāvūr. We hear of similar honours and responsibilities being given to other chosen army regiments, some of which are: Niyamam Tittamaśōḻa terinda Andaḷagattāḷar, looking after the services to the deity of Chaṇḍēśvarar in the main temple; Rājavinōda terinda Valangai Vēlaikkārap-Paḍaigaḷ, looking after the deity of Rājarājēśvarar; the Niyayam Sirundanattu Valangai Vēlaikkārap-Paḍaigaḷilār, attached to the image of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, and so on.

The army consisted primarily of foot soldiers trained in the art of war where hand to hand fighting was the order of the day. Besides, it had contingents of archers with regular formations. There were also men on horseback constituting the cavalry wing, the commander or the king often riding a horse. The Karandai Tamiḻ Śangam Plates mention Rājarāja riding his favourite 'matchless horse' when he headed the army that fought Satyāśraya (verse 20). The elephant corps formed a sizeable part of the army, the animal functioning also as a beast of burden in transporting all the equipment, provisions and manpower, as the nature of campaigns Rājarāja and Rājēndra carried on in the Deccan involved the movement of lakhs of men across barren terrain like the Rāyalaseema region and the Rāichūr doab. We hear of entire streets and suburban areas in the Chōḻa capital being inhabited by the men of elephant corps and men who tended the elephants.[1]

1. See chapter 10 for further details.

ROYAL COURT AND NOBILITY:

A good deal of the success of Rājarāja I, both as a warrior king and as an administrator, could be ascribed to the great dedication and grim loyalty his nobles, his feudatories and officials, whether military or civil, extended to the monarch. His nobles and courtiers were duly recognised for services rendered to the state and to him. He had various ranks of nobility attending his Court and assisting in the governance of the empire—the Perundarams, the Śirudarams, the Śirudaram Perundarams, the Mārāyars, the Araiyars and a variety of other title holders like Mūvēndavēḷāns.[1]

To quote a few instances, there was

1. Nārakkan Krishṇan Rāman alias Sēnāpati (General) Mummaḍi-śōḷa Brahma Mārāyan of Kēraḷāntaka chaturvēdi-mangalam in Veṇṇādu, a subdivision of Uyyakoṇḍān vaḷanaḍu. He was a Perundanam or Senior Counsellor who contributed the Ardha-nārīśvarar image.
2. Ādittan Sūryan alias Tennavan Mūvēndavēḷān, the headman of Poygai Nāḍu, who was entrusted with the administration of the Rājarājēśvaram temple and who consecrated metallic representations (pratimai) of Nambi Ārūranār, Nangai Paravaiyār, Tirunāvukkaraiyar, Tirujnāna Sambandar and Periya Perumāḷ (i.e. Rājarāja I) and his queen Lōkamahādēvi, besides the icon of the deity, Chandraśēkhara.
3. A third nobleman was Vēḷān Ādittan alias Parāntaka Pallavar-aiyan, a Perundanam who set up an image of Śiva with Uma Paramēśvari, Subrahmaṇya and Gaṇapati.
4. Minister Udaya Divākaran Tillaiyāḷiyār alias Rājarāja Mūvēn-davēḷān who set up an image of Kirāṭārjuna dēvar.
5. Kōvan (i.e. Gōpan) Aṇṇāmalai alias Kēraḷāntaka Villuppar-aiyan, a Perundanam who donated an image of Bhringīśar.
6. Īrāyiravan Pallavayan alias Mummaḍiśōḷa Pōśan, a Perundanam who set up a copper image of Chaṇḍeśvara dēvar.

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1. Among the nobles, the Mūvēndavēḷāns would appear to have been close to the king—if the privilege they enjoyed of being allowed to dedicate metallic images in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram could be any criterion for judging their proximity. For, besides Rājarāja himself, his sister Kundavai and his queens starting with Lōkamahādēvi, these noblemen were among the chosen few other than the royalty who were allowed to consecrate various divine images (see Chapter V for details).

7. One Vaḍugan of Nallūr who set up an image of Durgā Paramēśvari.
8. And finally Kandayan alias Rājarāja Kāttiyaraiyan, a Perundanam who contributed an image of Kāḷa Piḍāriyār.

There were several other petty functionaries and office bearers also. They ran the country according to royal writs and guidelines, conventions and time-honoured codes of conduct provided by rigid social sanctions and taboos.

Elsewhere we will see that among the donors of the numerous lamps lit in the Rājarājēśvaram temple was not only the king himself, but also a number of noblemen of the kingdom, besides fourteen military officers who, it is significant to note, set up lamps and prayed to the Lord that they might not bring shame upon themselves and the king in the military operations in Kōḷi. Both Ādittan Sūryan and Īrāyiravan Pallavayan find mention there. Besides them were Amuḍan Tēvan alias Rājavidyādhara Villuparaiyan, Kārāyil Eḍutta Pādam, the headman of Rājakēsarinallūr and Royal Secretary and Sēnāpati Kuravan Ulagaḷandān alias Rājarāja Mahārājan, all of whom had made donations of lamps for their merit. Of the fourteen military officers, eight were Perundanams (1) Uttaranguḍiyāṉ Kōn Vīdiviḍankan alias Villavan Mūvēndavēḷān, (2) Mārāyan Rājarājan, (3) Kaṇḍarachchan Paṭṭaḷagan alias Nittavinōda Villuparaiyan, (4) Ālattūr Uḍaiyān Kālan Kaṇṇappan alias Rājakēsari Mūvēndavēḷān, (5) Lōkamārayan, (6) Rājakēsari Mūvēndavēḷān, (7) Vayiri Śankaran, and (8) Kōvan Tayilaiyān. We hear of Perundanam Rājarāja Vānakkōvaraiyan, Perundanam Pūdi Śāttan, the headman of Nīḍūr, Perundanam Namban Kūttāḍi alias Jayangoṇḍaśōḷa Brahmamārāyan, Perundanam Tirumalai Vēngaḍan, Perundanam Kōn suṟṟi alias Arumoḷi Pallavaraiyan and Perundanam Nittavinōda Mahārājan and Śevvur Paranjyōti, a Yōnaka (Yavanaka, a Greek or an Arab) who evidently was settled in the Chōḷa country and was admitted to the royal court. (See p. 248).

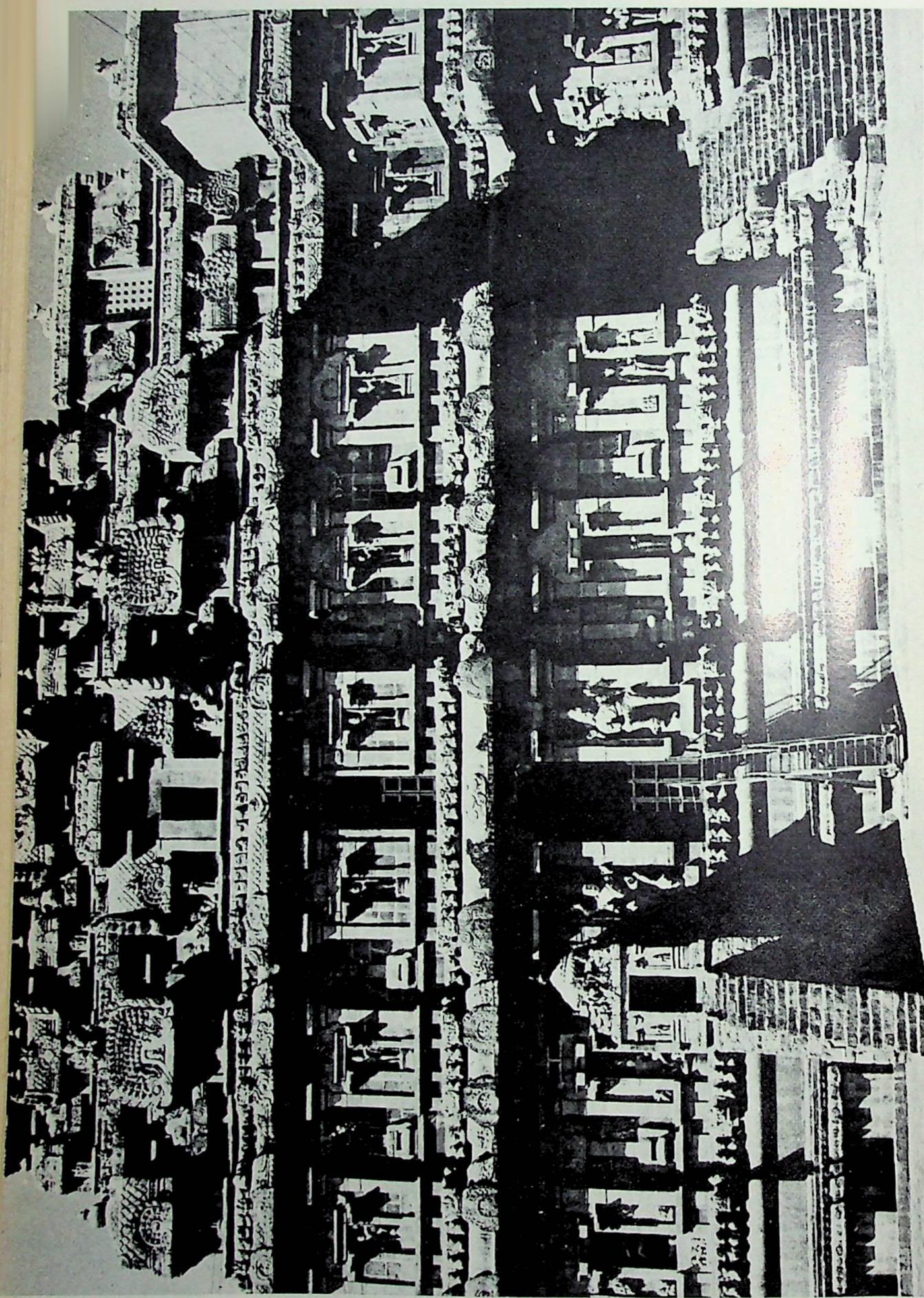
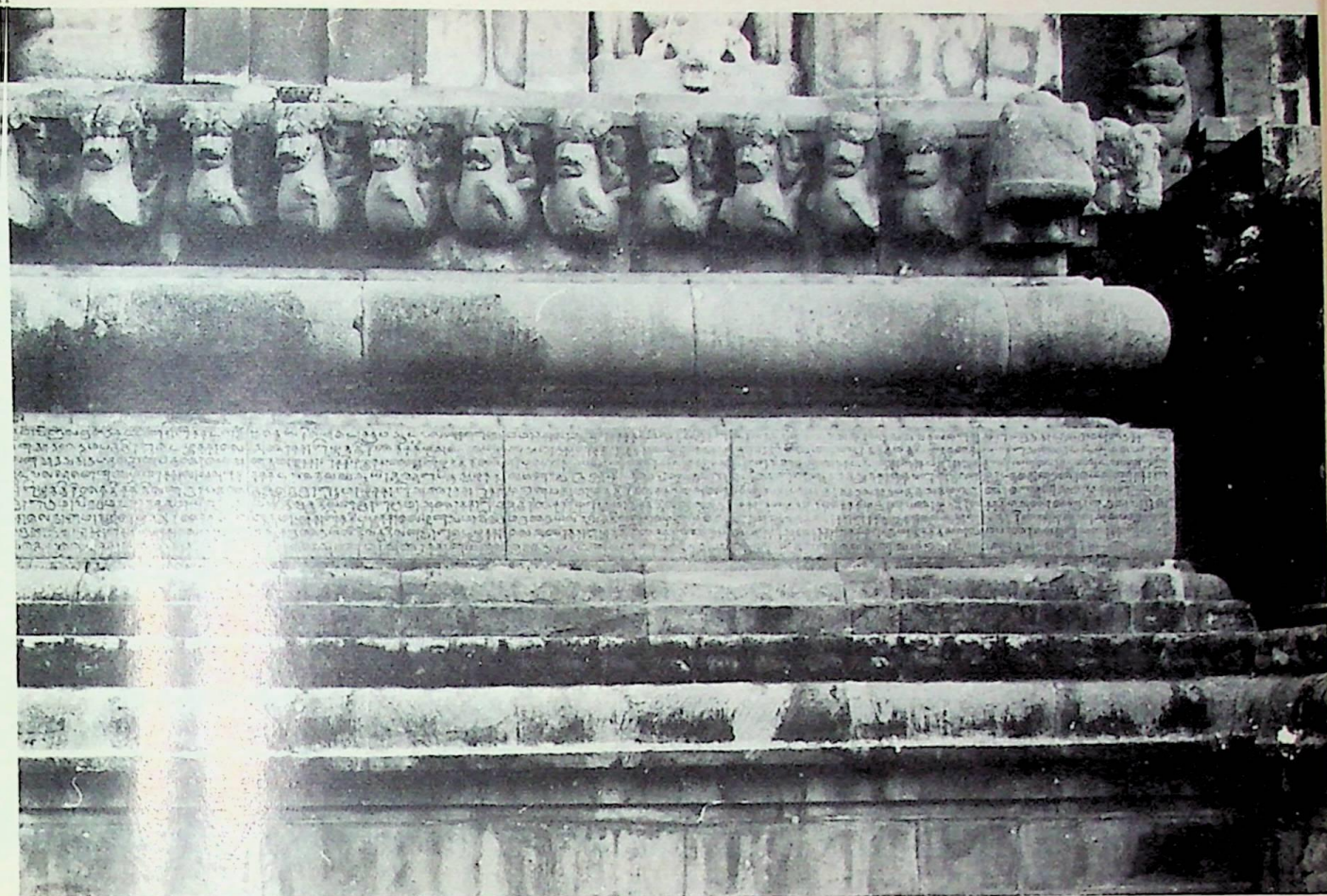
We cannot however leave out of this list Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, a son of Uttama Chōḷa and a cousin of Rājarāja I of the second remove, who occupied a high position in the royal court and served as an important official in the Department of Temple Affairs. We find him visiting various temples, auditing their

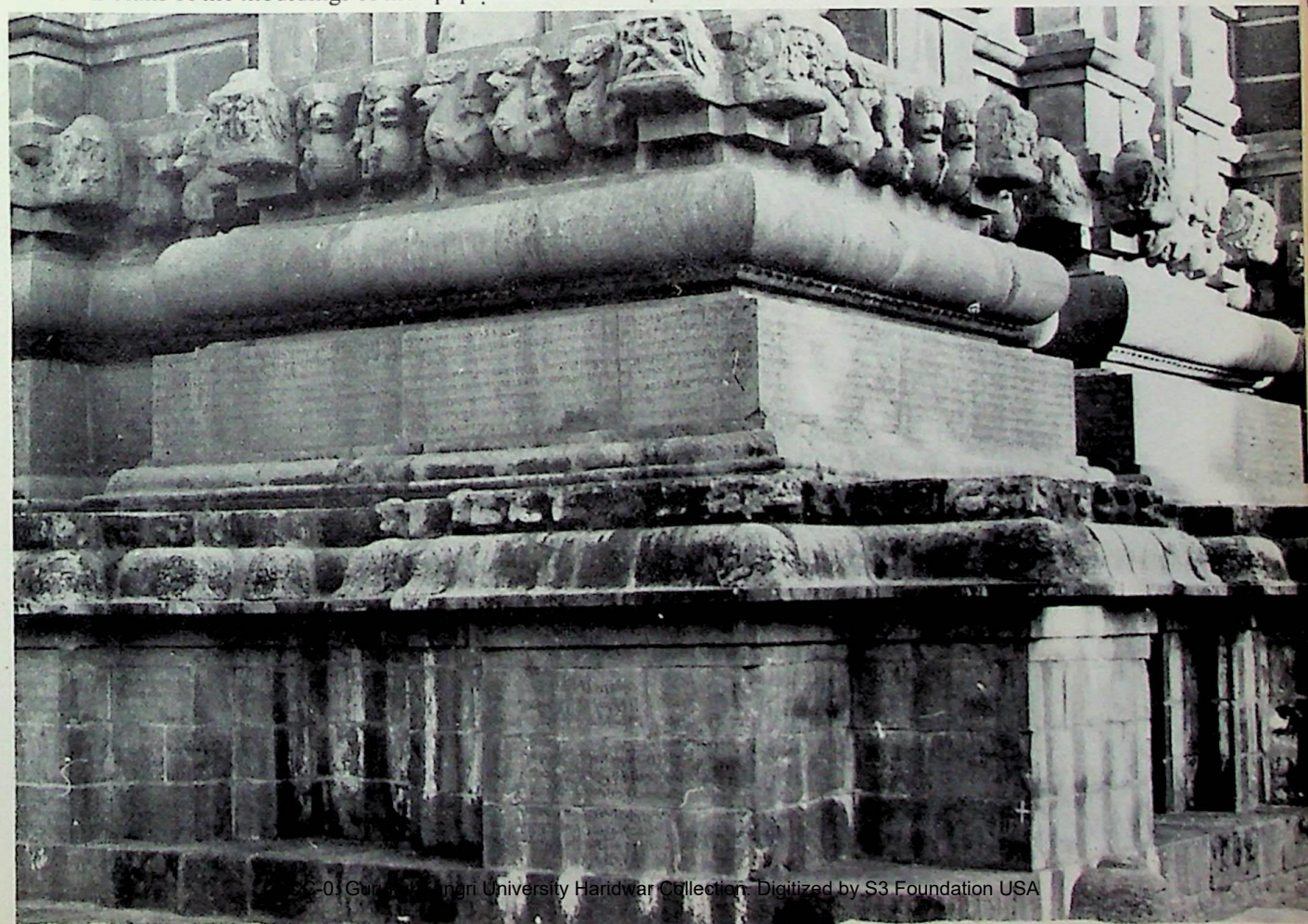
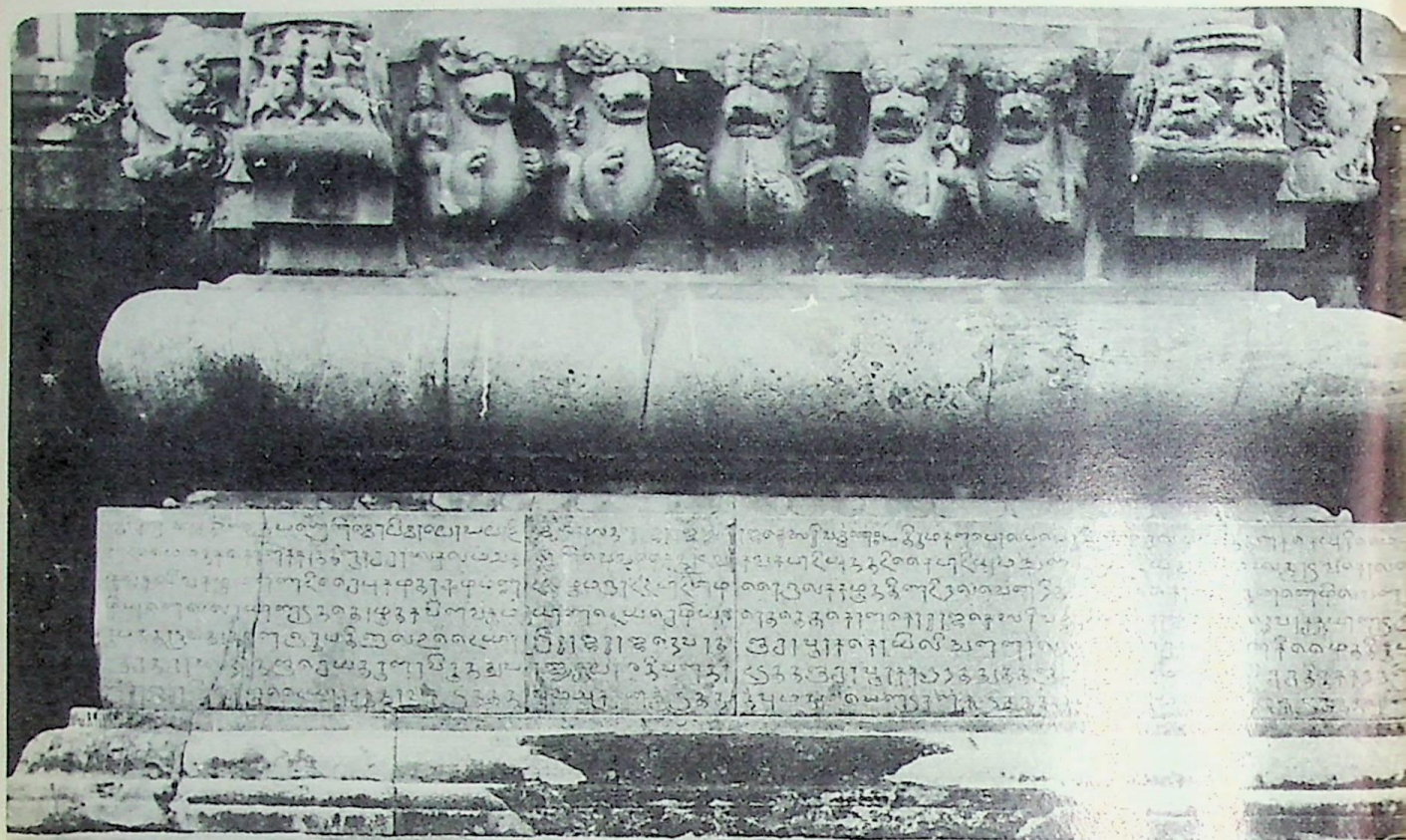
accounts and ensuring the proper maintenance of charities.[1] Some of the other prominent generals and nobles of the Court were (1) Paraman Maḻapāḍiyār alias Mummaḍi Śoḻan Śōḻakkōn who commanded the army that annexed Pākkai and Śitpuli nāḍus early in Rājarāja's reign; (2) Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Panchavan Mahārāya who was the Governor of the two maṇḍalas of Gangaipāḍi and Vengi, who could possibly be none other than Rājarāja's son himself; (3) Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Kandan Maravan of Paḻuvūr whose family had close marital connections with the Chōḻas even from the early Chōḻa days; and many other lesser chiefs.

LAND SURVEY

Of special importance is Kuravan Ulagaḷandān alias Rājarāja Mahārājan whose name should go down in the annals of the world of revenue administration as the chief officer or, to use a modern term, the Surveyor-General who undertook the mammoth operation of surveying all land, arable and otherwise in the entire empire, the operation having commenced in the 16th regnal year. In fact, the operation was so gigantic in its scope and extent that it did amount to mapping the world, as it were, which incidentally is the meaning of the title bestowed on this revenue official (Ulagaḷandān meaning 'he who mapped the world'). The operation must have been completed well before the end of his rule, for we find in the land grants made by Rājarāja to Rājarājēśvaram for the maintenance of and services in the temple, the land assigned is mentioned

1. We hear of him from the 14th year of Uttama Chōḻa when he makes an endowment for a ceremonial bath of the principal deity of the Maṇikaṇṭhēśvaram temple at Tirumālpuram (11 km. from Kānchi), till the 12th year of Rājarāja I; he continued to make extensive endowments to various temples; he seems to have wielded great influence over Rājarāja and enjoyed his confidence. A record of the 4th year of Rājarāja found in this temple, refers to an inquiry conducted by this dignitary into the affairs of the Agnīśvarar temple; in the same village, a 12th year record of the same ruler mentions that after inquiry this officer imposed fine on the men in charge of the storeroom of the temple. He was also known as Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan Tiruvaḍigaḷ (280, 285, 292-A of 1906). (Also see SII, III, no. 49; Early Chōḻa Temples, S.R. Bālasubrahmaṇyam, section on Tirumālpuram, p. 95; and The Cōḻas, K.A. Nīlakanta Sastri, pp. 193 and 227.)

9. Details of the thirteen hāras

10. Southern face of the garbhagriha (with Vikramaśōḻan tirŭ-vāśal)

11A. Details of the mouldings of the upapīṭham and adhishṭhānam

11B. Details of the mouldings of the upapīṭham and adhishṭhānam

12A. Rājarājan inscription on the garbhagriha adhishṭhāna, north face, westend

12B. Donatory inscription, illustrative of Rājarājan calligraphy

in such precise terms in regard to its extent that the area is taken down to 32nd part of a vēli (which is about 6 acres generally) and to 10th to 320th part of that fraction. This land survey would be the first ever global land survey of which we have recorded evidence. This formed the basis of all subsequent land surveys, including the ones undertaken in the 16th year of Kulōttunga I and again in the 35th year of Kulōttunga III, anticipating by half a millenium Tōḍar Mall's revenue survey of the Mughal empire undertaken during Akbar's days.

Such a detailed survey of land pre-supposes the existence of an elaborate administrative machinery for assessment and collection of revenue. A firsthand idea of the hierarchy that existed, linking the field to the Royal Court, is conveyed to us, among others, by the Larger Leyden Grant where the processes of the royal writ[1] percolating down to the village level are delineated.

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1. The royal order, conveyed while the king was seated in his palace in the outskirts of the capital city, was put down in writing by Amudan Tīrttakaran, the Royal Scribe (nam ōlai eḻudum), and the order was attested by Krishṇan Rāman alias Mummaḍiśōḻa Brahmamārāyan (already mentioned), Īrāyirvan Pallavayan alias Mummaḍiśōḻa Pōśan of Araiśūr (already mentioned), Vēḻān Uttama Śōḻan alias Madhurāntaka Mūvēndavēḻān of Paruttikkuḍi, all the three of whom were the Ōlaināyakars who attested (oppinālum) Royal orders; these Royal orders were in turn ordered to be entered in the Royal Land Revenue Survey Books, by Royal (Revenue) Secretaries (Karumam aryaum) viz.

   Ārūran Aravaṇaiyān alias Parākramasōḻa Mūvēndavēḻān, Jattan Śēndan alias Śembiyan Mūvēndavēḻān Nāppērān Porkari of Arunkunran, by Royal Arbitrators (Naḍuvirkkum) Paramēśara Bhaṭṭa Sarvakratuyājin of Puḻḻamangalam, Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭan of Kaḍalanguḍi, again by Royal Secretaries (Karumam arayum) Piśangan Pālūr alias Mīnavan Mūvēndavēḻān of Kārkuḍi, and Śankaranārāyaṇan Arangan of Vanganagar and again by the Arbitrators (Naḍuvirkkum) Tammaḍi Bhaṭṭan of Veṇṇainallūr, and Tiyambaka Bhaṭṭan of Paśalai.

   In pursuance of this order, the village of Ānaimangalam in Paṭṭinak-kūṟṟam, in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḻanāḍu comprising 97 vēlis, 2 mās, 1½ kāṇis and odd (after deducting those pieces of land that had been removed in survey) was entered in the revenue register as a tax-free paḻḻichchandam (land belonging to a Buddhist temple), in the presence of the following puravuvaris (petty Revenue Officers), Koṟṟan Porkai, the headman of Kiḻinallūr, Suṟṟiyān Tēvaḍi, a native of Kaḻumaḻam, Tēvan Śāttan, a native of Paḻuvūr, Ānaiyan Taḻikkulavan, a native of Kaḻḻikkuḍi and of the following varippottagams (Officers in charge of Tax Registers):

   Kumaran Arangan, a native of Śāttanūr, and Śingan Vēngaḍan, the headman of Paruttiyūr.

   After the entries were made in the register, the procedure for demarcating the boundaries of the earmarked land was followed. For this purpose the order laid down

LEVIES AND CESSES

A variety of levies on land and several other items, professions and individuals of the community find mention in the inscriptions and grants of this era. We shall content ourselves with a mere mention of these taxes, cesses and levies which were due to the king (government):

Nāḍātchi, Ūrātchi, Vaṭṭi-nāḻi, Piḍā-nāḻi, Kannalakāṇam, Vaṇṇār-ap-pārai, Kuśakkāṇam, Nīr-puli, Īḻak-Kuḷam, Tari-puḍavai, Tara-gu, Taṭṭārapu-paṭṭam, Iḍaip-paṭṭam, Āṭṭuk-kīrai, Nalla, Nallerudu, Nāḍu-kāval, Uḍupōkku, Vīrpiḍi, Vaḷa-manjāḍi, Uḻugu, Ōḍakkūli, Manrupāḍu, Māvirai, Tīkēri, Iḷam-pūtchi, and Kuṭṭikāl.

No great structural changes appear to have been brought about in the organisation and in the functions of the local self-governing institutions (like the Sabhā, Ūrōm etc.) at the level of the village, taniyūr, nāḍu, kūṟṟam or vaḷanāḍu. Much of the streamlining brought about during Parāntaka I's days would seem to have stood the test of time, and was therefore continued.

Nevertheless, the detailed land survey resulted in a larger revenue yield. This helped Rājarāja not only to strengthen the administrative machinery and an army that would have been the biggest under any Chōḻa ruler, but also to indulge in temple building activity on an unprecedented scale. While all the booty

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that a female elephant be led along the boundaries of the lands, as had been the practice from time immemorial and the names of the officers and the public who would accompany the elephant were conveyed, viz.,

> Tammaḍi Bhaṭṭan who was the Kaṅkāṇi-naḍuvirkkum and the Bhaṭṭars, viz, Śrīdhara, Parpanābha, Veṇṇaiya and Nandīśvara, and in addition Ānaiyan Taḷikku-lavan, the Puravuvari.

The royal order containing these directives further enjoined upon the nāṭṭōm (the assembly of the district) as follows:

> 'It behoves you also to be with these persons, to point out the boundaries, to go round the hamlets (revenue villages or Piḍāgais) accompanying the female elephant, to set up (boundary) stones and milk bushes (a variety of cactus) to draw up and give the deed of gift.'

The nāṭṭōm seeing the order being brought (evidently in a ceremonial manner), respectfully advanced towards the party conveying the orders, and after receiving it, carried it on their heads and accompanying the female elephant, walked round the hamlets, set up boundary stones and milk bushes and drew up and gave the deed of gift ('piḍi sūḻndu, piḍāgai nāḍāndu, kallum Kaḷḷiyum naṭṭu aravōlai seydu kuḍuttōm Kshtriyaśikhāmaṇi Vaḷanāṭṭu Paṭṭinak-kūṟṟattu nāṭṭom ......')

from the various wars he fought during his life-time went into making provision for services, worship and maintenance of the Rājarājēśvaram temple, the enormous outlay on building such colossal structures came from the revenues of the State.

AGRICULTURE BACKBONE OF SOCIETY

The backbone of the State was the village and cultivation was the primary activity. What was not locally available was obtained from overseas and paid for by exports through the flourishing ports like Nāgapaṭṭinam, Kāvērippūmpaṭṭinam, Ēyilpaṭṭinam and others. Pearl fishing and salt manufacture were thriving along with other lucrative enterprises. The lion's share of governmental revenue was however provided by an elaborate scheme of taxation centred round the village as a unit. And land revenue constituted the major share in the tax structure.

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO IRRIGATION

In the result, provision of irrigation facilities had been a pre-occupation with the Chōḻas, as in the earlier days with the Pallavas. The intricate network of reservoirs in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, a rain-fed area, is a tribute to the civil engineering skill of our ancient rulers. The massive irrigation schemes like the Madhurāntakam lake and the Vīranārāyaṇam (Vīrāṇam) lake near Chidambaram and another of the same name at Tribhuvani, are evidence of the engineering attainments as well as the far-sightedness of the Chōḻas. (These lakes were built during the days of Parāntaka I). The Kāvēri river lent itself to the excavation of an elaborate trellis work of irrigation canals, like the Vīra śōḻan and Uyyakoṇḍān, which have now become regular distributaries.[1] When fresh channels had to be dug, they

1. We can well visualise the meticulous attention which the Chōḷa bureaucracy had devoted to irrigation. One gets a clear idea of this if one studies the various stipulations that had been laid down, as for instance in the Leyden Grant, calling upon the nāṭṭōm to ensure that, in respect of the Ānaimangalam lands gifted to the Chūḷāmaṇi Vihāra paḷḷi, 'water passing in the existing channels for irrigating the lands of this village shall be allowed to do so as usual and the excess water shall, consistent with the prevailing custom, be

were so done as to admit of easy flow of water. Large wells were encouraged to be sunk to supplement flowing water facilities, and irrigation channels passing through the lands of the village to other skirting villages were to be permitted to flow without any impediment from the donee. Similarly the people of the outlaying villages had to allow uninterrupted flow of water in the channels passing through their villages in order to irrigate the lands of other areas. Drinking water was not be polluted; on the contrary it could, if needed, be used for irrigation purposes. There was general encouragement for growing coconut trees in groves, and orchards of fruit bearing trees like mango, jack-fruit, banana and such others, besides flower-bearing trees and bushes like ḍamaṇaka, maruvu, vīrvēli, śeṇbaga and śenkaḷunīr, and areca palms, betel creepers and other useful plants. There is a peculiar stipulation in the grant which mentions that mansions and big buildings should be built with burnt bricks only. Which could mean that stone structures were confined to religious buildings, while all secular buildings including palaces were perhaps built of burnt brick, timber and mortar. Alternatively, it could mean that permission was implied in the grant for the use of burnt bricks, as against unburnt or sun-burnt bricks evidently in common use.

OTHER TRADES

Oil pressing, besides weaving, was one of the thriving industries in the empire; for instance, the Leyden Grant enjoins that big oil presses be installed in Ānaimangalam. Cattle rearing, including sheep rearing, was evidently a flourishing business; for, we come across many prominent members of the society even in the metropolis engaged in this trade. In other words, the country was prosperous and the people contented. Agricultre was the main occupation and revenue collection and administration the main responsibility of the Government.

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collected. No one shall be permitted to cut any branch channels from them, to dam them across, to put up small picottahs or to bale out their water in baskets.' Thus, the donees in this case were given the sole right to the use of the existing irrigation channels for irrigation in a way that did not hold up the water but let it flow down easily.

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

The empire was divided into maṇḍalams or provinces, and they in turn were divided into vaḷanāḍus or districts.

We have a fund of material in inscriptions to reconstruct the administrative units of the metropolitan province viz, Chōḷa maṇḍalam (See Appendix 24). Its districts were

1. Arunmoḷidēva vaḷanāḍu (11)[1]
2. Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu (11)
3. Kēraḷāntaka vaḷanāḍu (3)
4. Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu (22)
5. Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu (6)
6. Nityavinōda vaḷanāḍu (10)
7. Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu (10)
8. Pāṇḍyakuḷāsani vaḷanāḍu (17)
9. Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu (10)

SURNAMES OF RĀJARĀJA:

Rājarāja indulged in calling himself by a variety of fascinating and musical surnames, which incidentally provided wide scope to his chiefs and nobles to christen new institutions, temples and halls, districts (vaḷanāḍu) and subdivisions. In fact the names of all the nine districts of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam province were taken from these surnames which, among others, included Arumoḷi, the name he bore before ascending the throne; Mummaḍiśōḷa, a title he assumed in the first few years of his reign; Rājarāja, his official name in all records after the first few years, and Śivapāda-Śēkhara, a title that was given to him after his 16th regnal year in recognition of his services to Śaivism.[2]

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1. Figures in brackets are the number of nāḍus or sub-divisions in a district to the extent our knowledge goes.
2. Besides, there wer other names like Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi, Rājēndrasimhan, Uyyakkoṇḍān (by which name even today a distributary of the Kāvēri branching off at the Grant Anicut is called); Pāṇḍyakulāsani, Kēraḷāntakan, Nittavinōdan (a name he had even at the time of the Hōṭṭur battle, as Rājēndra is referred to as Nittavinōda's son), Rājāśriyan (referred to in the Karandai Plates); Jananāthan, Ravikulamāṇikkam, after which a

ROYAL WOMEN:

Among the noblewomen who played important part in Rājarāja's life were his grantaunt Śembiyan Mahādēvi and his sister Kundavai, both of whom we have referred to earlier. Lōkamahādēvi, also called Danti Śakti Viṭanki, was his principal queen till very late in his life. But it was Vānavan Mahādēvi alias Tribhuvana Mahādēvi who bore him his famous son Rājēndra who, when he was the Viceroy of Īḻam and Pāṇḍi nāḍu (Vānavan Mādēvi-Īśvaram at Polannaruva renamed Jananāthamangalam after a surname of Rājarāja I), built a temple in Śrī Lankā in the name of his mother. Rājēndra had great regard for his step-mother, Panchavan, for whom he built a memorial temple known as Panchavan Mādēvīśvaram Uḍaiyār Kōyil at Rāmanāthan Kōyil (a suburb of Paḻayarai). From the Tanjāvūr records we get to know of many other queens viz, Chōḻa Mahādēvi, Lāṭa Mahādēvi, Prithvī Mahādēvi, Mīnavan Mahādēvi, Villavan Mahādēvi, Abhimānavalli and Vīra Nārāyaṇi. It is likely that Rājarāja married the daughter of his own elder sister Kundavai, a common custom among the Southern rulers. From the Tiruvalanjuḻi inscriptions we know of three daughters of the king; Kundavai, the youngest who was married to Vimalāditya of Vengi; Nangaiyār Mādēvaḍigal, the middle born (naḍuvil peṇpiḷḷai) and the eldest one of whom we have no details. All these noble ladies shared Rājarāja's penchant for extensive munificence and contributed metallic images and other gifts and donations, apart from making provision for services in temples all over the Chōḻa kingdom.

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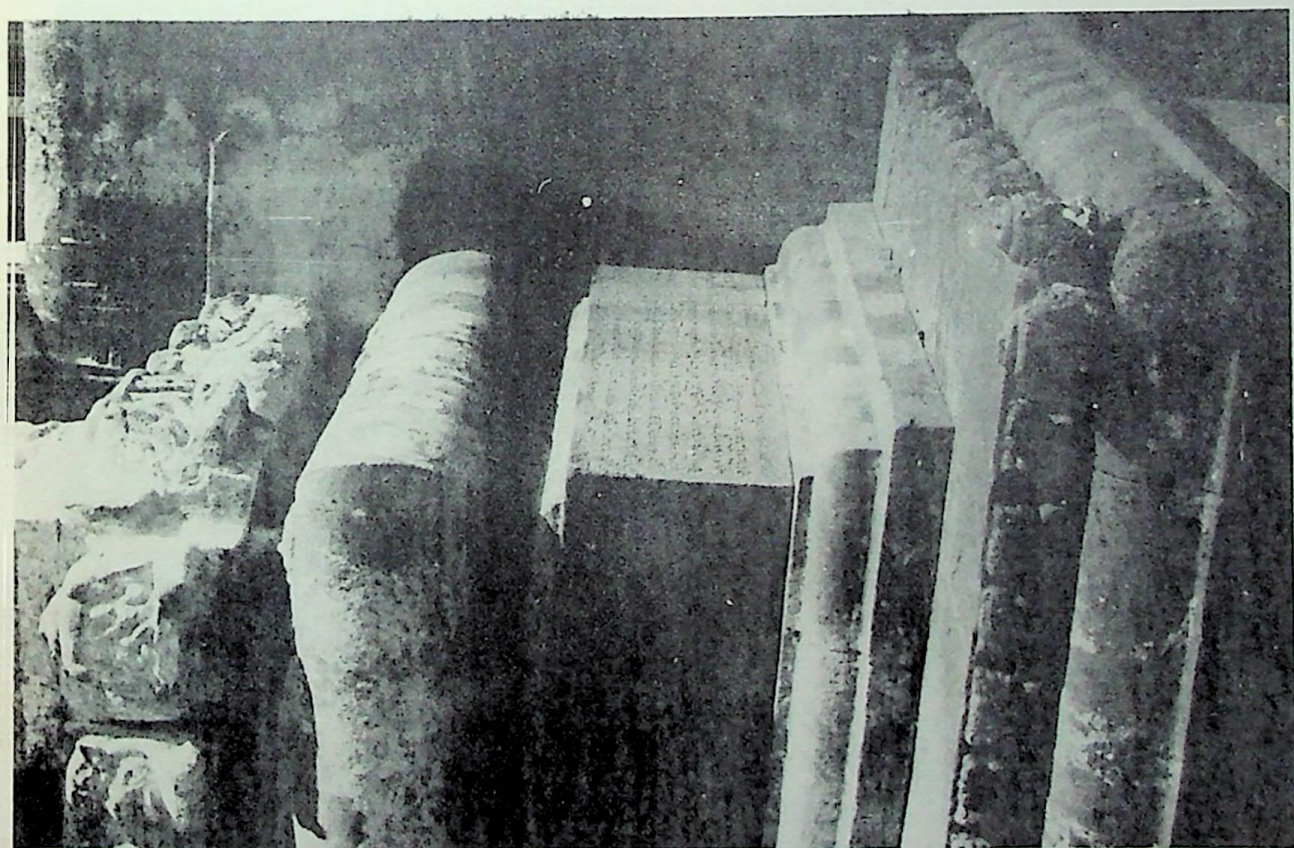
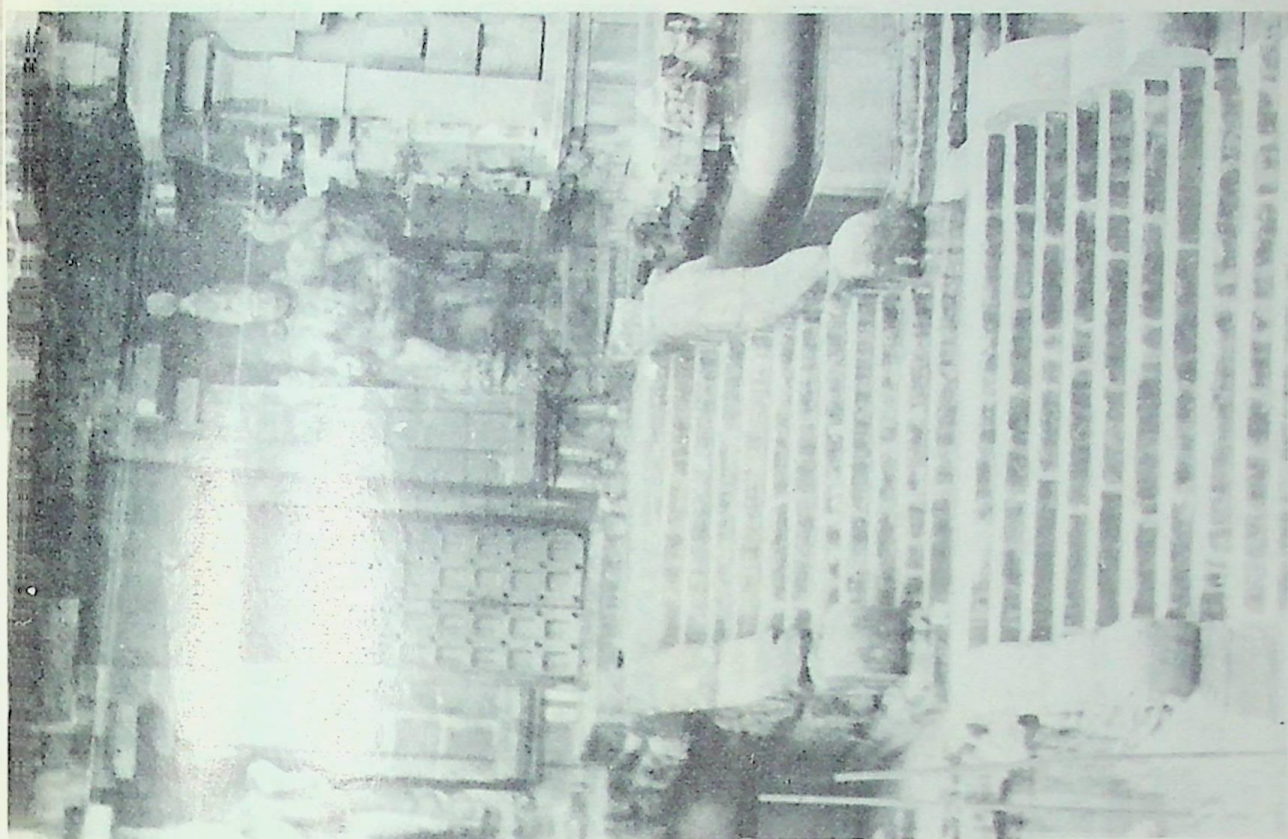
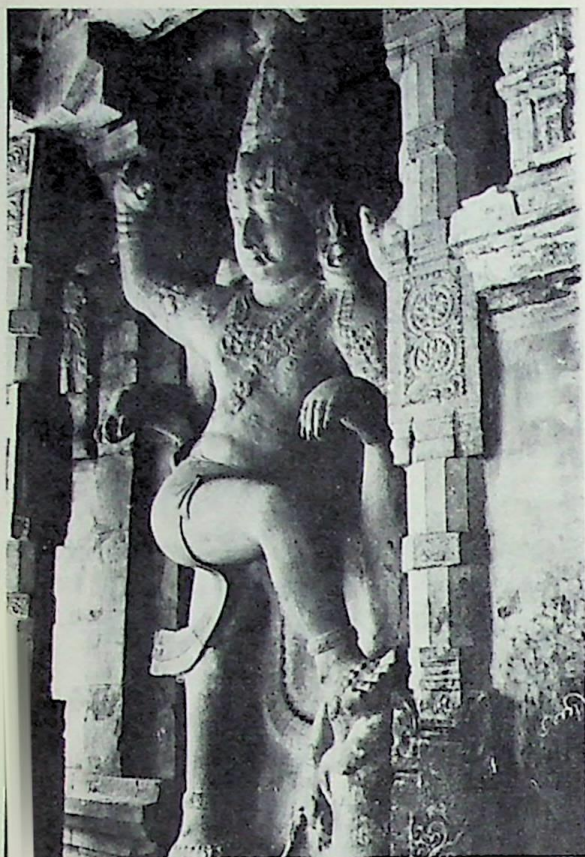
few temples are named; Nigarilisōḻan (by which name the Noḷambapāḍi region was called after its conquest—Nigarilisōḻa maṇḍalam), Chōḻēndrasimhan, Chōḻa-Mārttāṇḍan, Rāja-Mārttāṇḍan, Telungakulakālan (in evident recognition of the success he had met with in dispossessing Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma of Vengirāshṭra and handing it over to its rightful king Śaktivarman); Kīrti-Parākraman, Chōḻa-Nārāyaṇan, Jayangoṇḍaśōḻan, Simhaḷāntakan (mentioned in the Leyden Grant, in recognition of his victory over the Sinhalese); and Tailakulakālan, in an evident reference to the victory over the Western Chāḷukya ruler Satyāśraya, son of Taila the founder of the Kalyāṇi house. Of these, Rājarāja, seems to have preferred Arunmoḻi, Mummaḍiśōḻa, Jayangoṇḍa, Jananātha, Śivapādaśēkhara and Rājarāja, which occur more frequently than others.

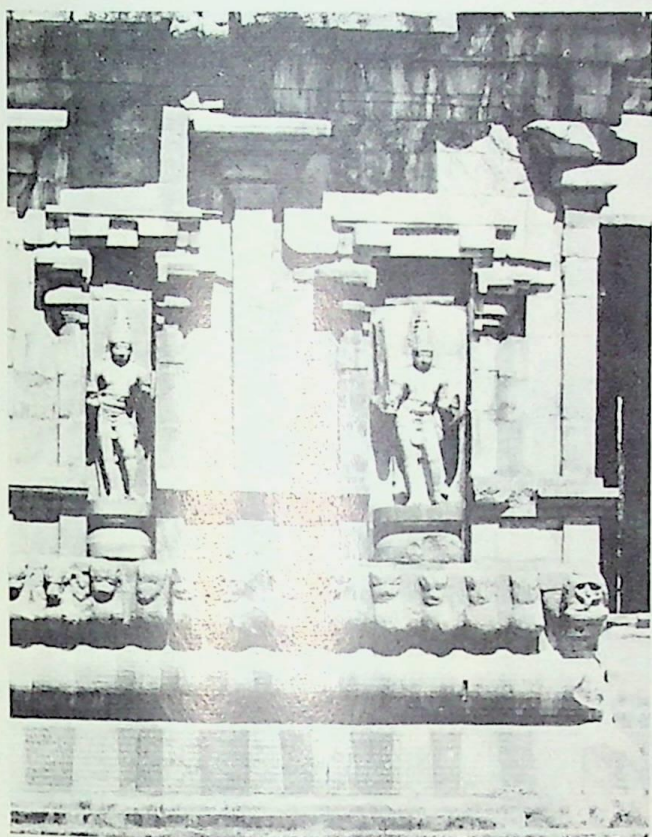
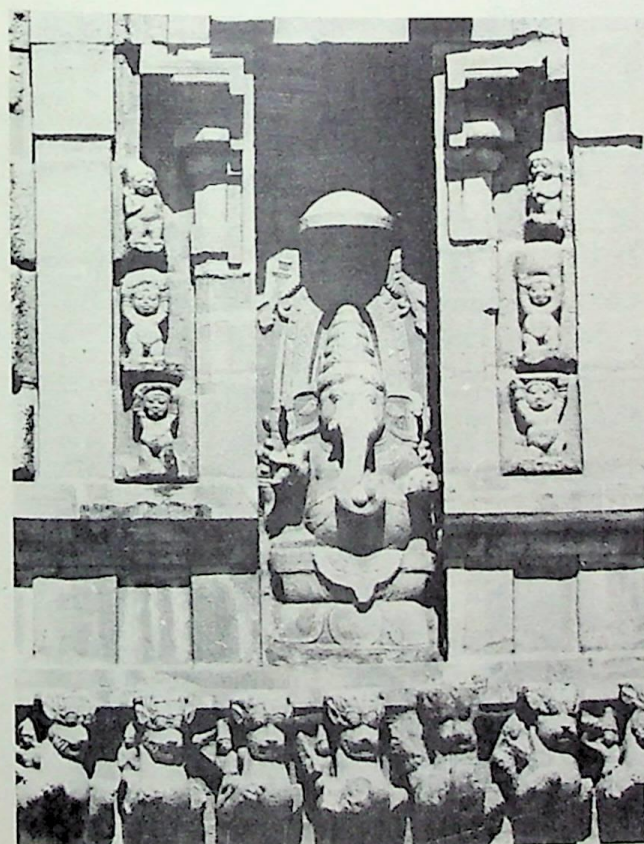
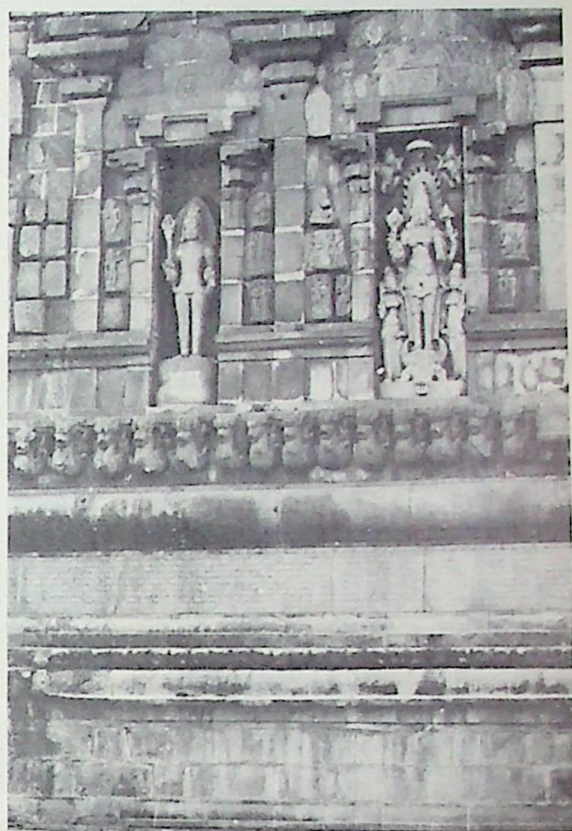
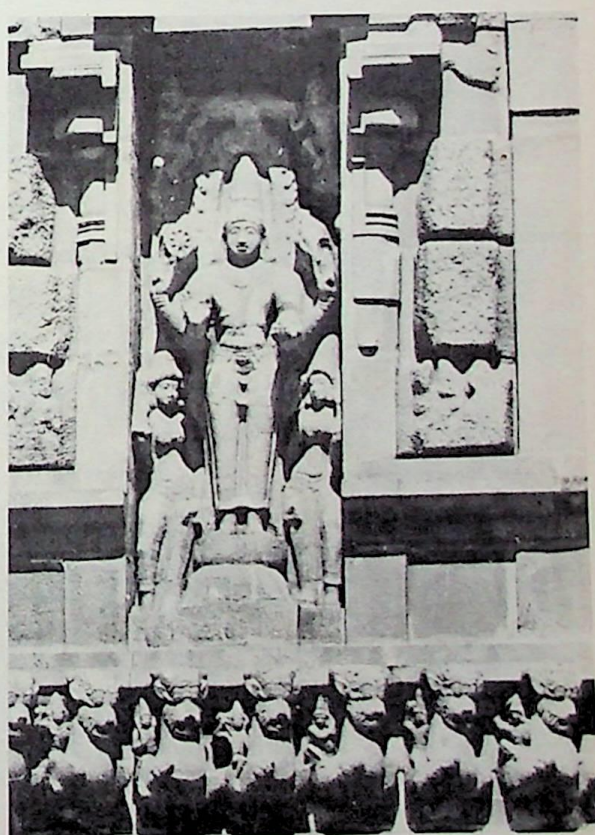
Even Rājēndra, with his numerous victories in the digvijaya and in the naval adventure into the South-East Asian seas, did not assume such a long string of surnames.

13A. Details of the adhishṭhānam and upapiṭham (southeast corner of the maṇimaṇḍapa)

13B. Vikramaśōḻan uruvāšal (southern entrance to the ardhamaṇḍapa)

A

B

14A,B,C and D. Rājarājan Dvārapālas (at different locations)

C

D

15A. Niches on the mahāmaṇḍapa wall

15B. Mahishāsuramardini and Ūrdhvajvāla Bhairava on ardhamaṇḍapa wall

15C. Gaṇēśa (1), ardhamaṇḍapa wall

15D. Vishṇu (2), ardhamaṇḍapa wall

16. Naṭarāja (13), garbhagriha wall

3

Rājarājēśvaram

GROWTH OF ART UNDER RĀJARĀJA:

The story of Rājarāja is that of a great monarch who, in a period of two decades, built a huge empire that was to grow to even greater heights in the days of his son. The last decade of his rule was one of consolidation and great artistic activity; the latter manifesting itself in giant temples springing up all over the empire. We have epigraphical and other evidence that at least around fifty temples, big and small, were built during his days (See Appendix A[1]). He carried on the tradition of metal casting and in his reign we find some of the glorious bronzes cast at Tanjāvūr, Tiruveṇkāḍu, Tirukkaḷar, Tiruk-kāravāśal and Āṟṟūr, to mention only a few places.

In the field of temple building, new vistas opened up during his reign, modifying or radically changing architectural concepts of an earlier era. In the field of bronze casting, Śembiyan tradition and techniques flowed and merged into Rājarājan practices—a tribute indeed to Śembiyan Mahādēvi. Tanjāvūr, Tiruveṇkāḍu and Tirukkāravāśal really mark the apogee of perfection and grace in metal casting.[2] Some of the bronzes from Tiruveṇkāḍu are dated in the 26th year of Rājarāja. One Kolakkāvan, for instance, set up an image of Vrishabhavāhanadēvar (A.D. 1011) in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍuḍaiyār (Śvētāraṇyadēvar) and made a gift of money and other offerings including jewels to this deity. Again, in his 27th year (A.D. 1012), an image of the Consort of the Lord of the temple

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1. See p. 283
2. With the former we shall have occasion to deal in the next chapter, while with the latter, nothing more than a passing reference can be made in this work.

was set up by some members of the Rājarāja-Jananātha-terinja-parivārattār. In the next year, we hear of an image of Āḍavallān (Naṭarāja) being set up in the same temple, for which one of the queens made a gift of gold offerings (456, 457 and 499 of 1918). Another great centre of metal casting was Tirukkāravāśal in the Nāgapaṭṭinam taluk of Tanjāvūr district. The temple itself, attributable to Rājarāja's days, has since undergone renovation and lost all clues to its original form. But here we are primarily concerned with some exquisite bronzes relating to the days of Rājarāja. Among them are Vrishabhavāhanadēvar (locally called Kāṭchi-koḍutta-nāyanār) and his consort, Naṭarāja and his consort and Bhikshāṭana and Sōmaskanda. The flow of massive metallic icons from the various ateliers of the Rājarājan period must indeed have been unprecedented, if the sixty and odd metal images that had been set up in the Rājarājēśvaram temple alone are any indication.

RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM

But, when one tries to recall the reign of Rājarāja I, it is not his wars of conquest, not his naval expeditions, not his revenue administration nor his military strength that come first to one's mind. It is the magnificent Śiva temple, the Rājarājēśvaram, he had built at the Chōḷa capital, Tanjāvūr, which stands to this day, as a finished memorial to the grandeur of his rule; 'the finest monument of a splendid period of South Indian history and the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best .... remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for the simplicity of its design'.[1] It is with this great monument that we shall be concerned here.

The turn of the ninth century A.D. is a watershed in the history of Art and Architecture of India. In a span of less than fifty years, there came into being, in different and unrelated parts of India, a few temples remarkable for their dimensions, artistic quality and innovativeness. Of giant proportions, they rose to sheer heights unknown till then to Indian architecture. In this group fall the Kandariya Mahādēva temple and the smaller, but in no wise less

1. The Cōḷas, K.A. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri, p. 221 (Vol. I, 1935 Edn.)

significant or artistic, temples at the Chāndēla capital of Khajurāhō, the Lingarāja temple at Bhubanēśwar (which, coming soon after the erection of the exquisite Muktēśvar temple, seems to dwarf the latter), and the Sun temple at Modhēra. Numerous other temples of less gigantic proportions also came into existence about the same time. But in an age of giant structures they tended to get crowded out of notice, thus failing, till now, to get the attention their intrinsic value and artistic merit deserved. To this category belong several temples at Khajurāhō, the Rājārāṇi temple at Bhubanēśwar (the very epitome of Orissan art), the many temples of Bengal which having succumbed to the ravages of man and time, have only their vestiges left and the numerous temples in the Deccan region and elsewhere. They have been elbowed out of prominence by a surfeit of great temples that kings and nobles of a vigorous age had built to eulogize themselves and to perpetuate their piety and memory. This period was one of restless art activity, new temples and religious buildings growing up in great profusion. Belonging to the same age of towering monuments are the two temples of South India; Rājarājēśvaram built by Rājarāja I, and Gangaikoṇḍaśōḷīśvaram built by his illustrious son Rājēndra I. Rājarājēśvaram was completed in the 25th year of Rājarāja I, corresponding to A.D. 1010 and the latter was completed in the closing years of the reign of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1044). (See ill. 1, 2, p. 17, 18).

Rājarājēśvaram is in every way incomparable in sheer mass, height and plan as in many other aspects. There is a monumental simplicity about this temple in contrast to the riot of sculpture that one finds in the Kandariya Mahādēva temple and the intricate lace-work in stone that marks out the Lingarāja temple at Bhubanēśwar.

In height, neither Kandariya Mahādēva temple of Khajurāhō nor the Lingarāja temple of Bhubanēśwar, nor even the sister temple nearer home i.e., the Gangaikoṇḍa Śōḷīśvaram, stands any comparison to Rājarājēśvaram. In other words, in the early decades of the 11th century, the pilgrim, visiting the famous shrines of the country from Kanyā Kumāri to the Himālayās, might have stopped to see the tallest building ever at Rājarājēśvaram, set in a campus, perhaps also the biggest to date, and peristyled by a collonaded

verandah that ran around the central structure. Perhaps, with some exceptions, the greater among the Chōḻa emperors created for themselves a personal deity or a gurdian angel, as it were, who was supposed to guide them through the trials and tribulations of ruling a far-flung empire, and on whom they in return poured (at the feet of the Lord) all the booty gathered in their wars of conquest. The first in this chain of temples is Rājarājēśvaram at Tanjāvūr built by Rājarāja I. His son, a greater warrior and conqueror than even his noteworthy father, built a fitting temple aptly described as that of 'the Īśvara of the king who took the Ganga, Gangaikoṇḍa-Chōḻa-Īśvaram'. His son Rājādhirāja I, preoccupied with and ultimately killed in, the wars with the Western Chāḷukyas, had also had a temple called Rājādhirājēśvaram built after his name at Mannārguḍi. Kulōttunga I had no exclusive temple built for himself, though Naṭarāja of Chidambaram seems to have wrought a charm over him, his son and his grandson, all of whom in three eventful successive decades, converted a comparatively small temple into a complex one, not far different from what it is today. His son Vikrama Chōḻa, dedicated in the 10th year of his reign the entire receipts of the kingdom to the remodelling, expansion and beautification of the temple of Naṭarāja of Chidambaram, the Deity in effect becoming the kulanāyakam, the 'Divine Lord of the Chōḻa family'. The temple of his reign was, however, Vikramaśōḻīśvaram, built at Vikrama Chōḻa Nallūr, which today bears the later name of Tukkāchchi. It is now a much neglected, little noticed edifice, structurally very much like the Chōḻa temples of the 12th century to be mentioned below. Rājarāja II restored the tradition of having a grand unitary design and built under his direction the temple of Rājarājēśvaram (named in the same way as Rājarāja I did his own temple) at Dārāśuram in the fertile plains watered by the ever proliferating branches of the Kāvēri. Tribhuvana Vīra Dēva, meaning the hero of the Three Worlds (as Kulōttunga III, the last great king among the Chōḻas, was called after he had conquered Madurai, Śrī Lanka (Īḻam) and Karuvūr) raised the temple of Tribhuvanēśvaram. An edifice of magnificent proportions and intricate stone work, it remains as the last great, unitary, all-stone complex in the deep southern penin-

sular region. These temples[1] built by the kings exclusively for their guardian deity summed up their personality and were left behind as fitting memorials. When we apply to these special edifices appropriate yardsticks with particular emphasis on plan, balance, volume distribution, sculptural merit and general surface treatment, Rājarājēśvaram stands head and shoulders above them. It has yet another unique aspect of being perhaps the only monument that has a completely documented story of its construction, giving details of the grants and gifts made to it, the arrangements for worship of and service to the various deities and for the general maintenance of the temple. We gather the fullest description even of the numerous metal images gifted to the temple by members of the royalty, the nobility and others, the Emperor Rājarāja I himself heading the list. No other temple in any part of India has such a wealth of material that gives us today a peep into the fabric of the society a thousand years ago, its institutions and regulations, its curbs and rights, besides shedding a flood of light on the political set-up of that era, the administrative units of the kingdom, the priest-hood and the laity, and many other interesting details. But what we value most are the fascinating details of the metallic icons of stupendous proportions cast in a span of a decade or even less. Unfortunately, very few of them have buffeted through the millennium-long political convulsions, vandalism, and calamities the region has suffered, to come down to us unscathed, unstolen or unmelted. A word may be said about the name of the temple. And for that we have only to refer to the most important of all the inscriptions engraved on the walls of the central shrine which reads as follows:

> 'Svasti śrīhi: ētad viśva nrpa śrēṇi mouli mālōpalālitam/
> Śāsanam Rājarājasya Rājakēsari varmaṇah.......

Tirumagaḷ pōla perunilachchelviyum..... Kō-Rājakēsarivarman

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1. Many other temples came up in the same period, often bearing the name of the king. But their designs were different, the śrīvimāna receding in importance and height and peripheral accretions lending scope to succeeding kings and dynasties to add more space and buildings in the surrounding area to bring about, in course of time, the huge temple arenas that we have today at Chidambaram, Madurai, Kānchipuram, Śrīrangam and other like places.

Śrī Rājarāja dēvarkku yāṇḍu irupattārāvadu, naaḷ irupadināḷ Uḍaiyār Tanjāvūrk-kōyilinuḷḷāl Irumaḍi śōḻanin kīḻai-tirumanjana-śālai dānam seydu aruḷavirundu Pāṇḍya kulāsani vaḷanāṭṭu Tanjāvūr kūṟṟattu-t- Tanjāvūr nām eḍuppichcha tiruk-kaṟṟaḷi Śrī Rājarājēśvaram uḍaiyārkku nām kuḍuttanavum........................ Śrīvimānattil kallāley veṭṭuga yendru tiruvāymoḻinjaruḷa veṭṭina'.[1]

We have Rājarāja's own word to confirm that the temple was called Rājarājēśvaram, situated in Tanjāvur city in Tānjāvūr kūṟṟum in the district of Pāṇḍyakulāsani, and that it was built (or raised) by him (nām eḍuppichcha). In an inscription[2] found engraved in near modern Tamiḻ on the west wall of the Amman shrine and dated almost six hundred years after the founding of Rājarājēśvaram, mention is made of a hall (maṇḍapam) built by a certain Mallappa Nāyakar. In that record, the temple is referred to as the Tanjāvūr Periya Uḍaiyār temple, meaning the temple of the great Lord at Tanjāvūr ("Tanjāvūr Periya Uḍaiyār kōyil Mallappa Nāyakar maṇḍapam Moortti Amman maṇḍapam......'). Since the deity of the central shrine of Rājarājīśvaram was the great Lord (Periya Uḍaiyār), and in the Nāyak and Marāṭha days, its Sanskrit equivalent, Brihat-Īśvarar came into vogue, by the same token, His Consort became the great Lady or Brihan-Nāyaki. This explains the current use of the terms Brihadīśvarar and Brihannāyaki for the Lord and His Consort of the temple of Rājarājēśvaram.

Certain basic facts come to light from the epigraphs in the temple. We know that the kalaśam (or the finial), the crowning element of the śrīvimāna, was handed over by the king for the formal consecration ceremony called 'kumbhābhishēkam' (literally meaning the ceremonial bathing of the stūpi or kumbha), on the 275th day of his 25th regnal year. The inscription[3] in its 18th paragraph reads: "Yāṇḍu irupattainjāvadu nāḷ irunnūṟṟeḻupattain-junāḷ Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājarājadēvar Śrī Rājarājeeśvaramuḍaiyār śrī

1. SII, II, no. 1.
2. SII, II, no. 62.
3. SII, II, no. 1.

vimānattuch-chembin stūpitaḍiyil vaikkakkuḍutta śeppuk-kuḍam onru........ ."

Translated it reads thus: "On the two hundred and seventy-fifth day of the twenty-fifth year (of his reign), the Lord Śri Rājarājadēva gave one copper water-pot (kuḍam), to be placed on the copper pinnacle (stūpi-taḍi) of the sacred shrine (śrīvimāna) of the Lord Śrī Rājarājēśvara (temple)."

Thus by A.D. 1010, corresponding to the 25th regnal year of Rājarāja I, the consecration of the new temple must have taken place. How long it took to raise this elaborate edifice, an entirely new engineering concept of an all-stone structure of such gigantic proportions and height, is left much to the realm of speculation. One guess could be that it may have been started some time around the 19th regnal year of Rājarāja I. The basis for this speculation is that Arumoḻidēva, as Rājarāja I was called before his coronation, had assumed the stewardship of the Chōḻa kingdom under the title of Mummuḍi Chōḻa, a name that persisted till the 19th year when the new title of Rājarājadēva was conferred upon him. This may not, however, be conclusive proof as the christening of the temple could have been made even in the final phases of its construction. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to hazard the guess that, with all the resources at his command and with the single-minded devotion that he exhibited in the building of this temple, a span of six years should not be too short for such a structure to come up.

The temple is entirely of stone, not found in the region, around Tanjāvūr, which abounds only in red stone prone to quick disintegration. Local tradition has it that a hillock named Mammalai, about fifty kilometres from the site of the temple in a westerly direction and fifteen kilometres from Tiruchy, had furnished the quarry for the sthapatis (architects and engineers). Rājarāja I's 29th regnal year (A.D. 1014) is very significant in respect of Rājarājēśvaram, for, in that year, he appears to have been dogged by a premonition of his approaching end, and so he ordered that all the gifts made upto that year in favour of Rājarājēśvaram be placed on permanent record for posterity, by being engraved on the walls of the śrīvimāna. Hence the expression quoted earlier, 'nām kuḍuttanavum, Akkan kuḍuttanavum, peṇḍugaḷ kuḍuttanavum, maṟṟum

kuḍuttār kuḍuttanavum Śrīvimānattil kallālēy veṭṭuga.......', meaning 'let the gifts made by us, those made by our elder sister, those made by our wives and those made by other donors to the Lord (Uḍaiyār) of the sacred stone temple .... be engraved on stone on the sacred śrīvimāna'. 'Accordingly', the record goes on to say, 'these (following) gifts were engraved'. This was followed by an enumeration of the gifts, constituting one of the longest lithic records of Indian history. We may digress for a while to glance through the gifts thus listed out, because they give us some chronological information, the rest of the inscription being reserved for our study at a subsequent stage. It is the first of the inscriptions to be recorded in this temple[1]; the engraving commenced in pursuance of an order of the king issued on the 20th day of his 26th year. It consists of a total of 107 paras, divided into three parts; (a) paras 51 to 107 deal with a miscellany of gifts and grants made between the 23rd and the 29th years; (b) paras 1 to 50 deal with a similar set of gifts made between the 25th and the 26th years, with the exception of (c) para 18 that deals, as we saw, with the finial pot for the consecration ceremony. The gifts are thus grouped into categories for purposes of record and verification.[2]

This child of Rājarāja's imagination which is no less an architect's dream, was built close to the royal palace at the Chōḷa metropolis.

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1. SII, II, no. 1.
2. Paras 3 to 4: Gifts made in the 25th year 312th day.
   Paras 5 to 9: Gifts made in the 26th year 14th day.
   Paras 10 to 16: Gifts made in the 26th year 27th day.
   Para 17: Gifts made in the 26th year 34th day.
   Para 18: Gifts made in the 26th year 275th day.
   Paras 19 to 32: Gifts made in the 26th year 104th day.
   Para 33: Gifts made in the 26th year 318th day.
   Paras 34 to 50: Gifts made in the 26th year 319th day.
   Paras 51 to 107: Gifts made in the 23rd to 29th year.
   Paras 51 to 107 are made up of three categories of gifts.
   (i) Paras 51 to 54 refer to gifts made by the king, partly from his treasury and partly out of the booty obtained after his victory over "The Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas of the Malai nāḍu".
   (ii) Paras 55 to 91 deal with the gifts made by the king after the titles of 'Śivapādaśēkhara' and 'Rājarāja' were conferred upon him; and
   (iii) Paras 92 to 107 list out the gifts made after his victory over Satyaśraya of the Western Chāḷukyas.

In the closing years of his reign, he and his queens would visit the royal chapel through the private entrance connecting the temple to the palace for the daily worship, conducted exclusively for royalty by Guru Īśāna Paṇḍita, to the chanting of the Vēdas and the singing of the Dēvāram hymns. These hymns had a special significance for Rājarāja I, for he had rescued them from an ant hill in the western courtyard of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram. He thus gave back to the Tamils their lost scriptures which thereafter were recited by the many musicians he employed for the purpose. Rājarājēśvaram was thus part of a bigger canvas, the palace and the temple together standing on a high ground towering over the entire neighbourhood. Even today the grey contours of this pyramidal vimāna dominate the skyline for miles around as they must have done in his days.

A deep but disused moat skirts the temple and the site of the palace, now no more. Of variable width, averaging about 15 metres, it gives the buildings within the necessary sense of height that a monument of the dimensions of Rājarājēśvaram should have. The temple complex has a rectangular ground-spread of 240.79 metres in the east-west direction and 121.92 metres in the north-south direction. Briefly, it consists of an outer wall of defence, a middle wall in the nature of a wall of enclosure, and an inner wall supporting a peristyle. This last constituent encompasses a vast courtyard, rectangular in plan, measuring 152.40 metres in length and 77.20 metres in width. Set in the centre of this courtyard is the main temple of Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār, comprising the śrīvimānam in the west, followed in the eastern direction by the ardhamaṇḍapa, the mahāmaṇḍapa in two parts and a maṇi (or sōpāna) maṇḍapa. Further ahead of these components, which constitute a single architectural composition, is a detached Nandi maṇḍapa. On the flanks of the main structure lie the other shrines, not all coeval with the main temple. Among them are the shrines of the Amman, called Ulagamuḷuduḍaiya Nāchchiyār, of Subrahmaṇya and of Gaṇapati, and also the Naṭarāja maṇḍapa. (See p. 17).

The entire plan is east-oriented, the three walls of enclosure being broken in the eastern cardinal direction by gateways with or without a gōpuram on top. The moat surrounding the temple has

been levelled up at this eastern axial point to raise the passage of approach even with the courtyard floor of the temple. The wall of fortification comes up next punctuated with battlements, merlons, crenels and loop holes. The gateway through this (evidently of a much later date) is of no architectural significance. The middle wall is a further 15 metres inside, uniformly removed from and parallel to the defensive wall. Rising from above the eastern gateway of the middle wall is the outer gōpuram. Inscriptional references designate this gateway as Kēraḷāntakan tiruvāśal, the sacred gateway of Keraḷāṇtaka, a title of Rājarāja I assumed after his conquest of the Kērala country. It is a squat, massive five-tiered structure with śālas, nīḍas and karṇakūṭas in each tier (taḷa) perched on a high stone masonry foundation, which has an upapīṭham element and an adhishṭhānam with many mouldings. Purāṇic themes are sculptured along the length of the hāras, and the nīdas, in their circular niches, house miniature śāla designs. (See ill 3A, p. 19).

A further hundred metres inwards i.e. westwards, and parallel with the earlier mentioned outer wall is the inner wall of enclosure with a gateway in the eastern cardinal direction. This is the gateway of Rājarāja, christened in the inscriptions as Rājarājan tiru-vāśal. On the eastern face of the upapīṭham, on either side of the gateway, are some exquisite panels, in low relief, depicting Purāṇic themes like Pārvati pariṇayam (Pārvati's wedding). On the eastern face of this gōpuram above these panels, there are two massive Dvārapālas almost in the round, adorned with many ornaments including a kirīṭa with the triśūla on the crowning point. The gateway is canopied by a gōpuram, smaller than its outer counterpart, and having only three tiers. It, however, shares in common with the outer gōpuram the same characteristics of the upapīṭham, adhishṭhānam and ādi-bhūmi; but where it differs is in the larger spread of the upapīṭham or sub-basement, resulting in an adhishṭhānam stepped in on the four sides and rising from the upapīṭham. Flanking the gate, there are four small shrines forming part of the gōpuram, two in the upapīṭham layer itself and the others just above them, corresponding to the adhishṭhānam. (See ill. 3A, 3B, p. 19).

On the other side of the upapīṭham shrines or cells there are again some finely carved cameos depicting social and purāṇic

themes. In the super-structure there are three śālas and two kūṭas in each of the two upper storeys, the śāla type of śikhara on the top being crowned by five kalaśas. An interesting feature of this gōpuram is the positioning of nāśis, five in all, on each face. Two are over the cellas on the flanks of the gateway and in level with the first taḷa. Three others are in the form of nāśis with gāḍhas housing deities like Gaṇēśa, of which two are over the two openings in the middle of each taḷa, the third one being stuck to the centre of the śikhara. (See sketch L_{35} for components of a standard śrīvimāna, p. 279).

We may now turn our attention to the main temple, whose constituents we have already referred to. Rising to varying heights on a unitary basement which measures 30.17 metres across and 54.86 metres along the axis of the temple, these components seem to give the impression of emerging from the confines of the cloistered courtyard bound by the wall of enclosure. The dominant constituent is of course the śrīvimānam, measuring a giant square of 30.175 metres[1] at the base. It acquires its dignity, not merely from the sheer height, but from the simplicity of design as well. It consists of three main parts, one above the other, viz., (i) the garbhagriha (cella), square in cross-section made up of the upapīṭham, the adhishṭhā-nam, the ādibhūmi and the prastara, (ii) the tall tapering pyramidal body comprising the thirteen tiers or taḷas, (iii) the graceful cupola-like dome with the stūpi, resting on a neck rising from the top of the pyramidal body and supporting at its apex a metre high stūpi. It is interesting to study the broad geometry of this edifice. The up-apīṭham provides the square platform on which rests the adhishṭhā-nam. This platform which is 1.40 metres from the ground is extended at the same level and with the same mouldings, to provide a common base for the ardhamaṇḍapa, the mahāmaṇḍapa and the maṇimaṇḍapa. Drawn inwards by a margin of 3.96 metres all round is the adhisṭhānam, again a square 26.21 metres to a side which rises to a further height of 3.58 metres over the upapīṭham base. That incidentally, is the height of the garbhagriha floor level. The four walls of the garbhagriha are shrunk further

1. Indian Architecture, Percy Brown, p. 85; Percy Brown's figure of 82 ft. needs revision, unless it be applied to the ādibhūmi.

into a smaller square of 24.36 metres, resting on the adhishṭhānam. The walls of the garbhagriha rise to a height of 15.24 metres and, together with the upapiṭham and adhishṭhānam, give the edifice a total height of nearly 20.22 metres against a base-width of 30.17 metres. Thus the height of the cuboidal cell is two thirds the width of the base square. The tapering pyramid resting on this cuboid and taking off on a base slightly less than 24 metres square rises to a height of about 36.50 metres. Topping the thirteenth tier (taḷa) of the pyramid is a single granite block measuring a square 7.77 metres to a side, and weighing according to computations eighty tons; a marvel of engineering skill in the days of no machines. This furnishes the flat platform for the śikhara which, with its upward and inward sweeping curve near the neck, brings about the necessary break to relieve the otherwise severe straight lines that mark the basement and the pyramidal midriff. Poised like an enormous bud whose stamen has prematurely burst through the top in the shape of the stūpi, the śikhara gives a graceful finishing touch to the vimāna. The eight nandis couchant at the four corners of the single-slab platform, two to each corner, almost seem to hold up the śikhara, while the mahānāśis in the four directions look like wings giving the śikhara the image of a floating ethereal element. The nandis are in pairs, each measuring 1.98 metres. The stūpi, which alone is said to measure 3.80 metres in height, crowns it all. Once covered with gold-sheets over a copper base (the kalaśa is called the śeppukkuḍam, the copper pitcher, in the inscription), it was presented to the temple, evidently in great ceremony, by Rājarāja I himself, on the 27th day of his 25th regnal year.[1] (See ill. 9, p. 57).

The thirteen hāras deserve a word of description. A close comparison of the western face of the inner gōpuram with the garbhagriha walls (with the first two hāras over it), will reveal the surprising similarity between, in fact the near identity of, the two structural compositions. Minor differences that exist have been warranted by the dimensional disparity. In the first hāra, the end elements, as usual, are karṇakūṭas with a śāla in the middle, which in turn is dented by a false dvāra (gateway) crowned by a nāśi with a

1. SII, II, No. I, para 18.

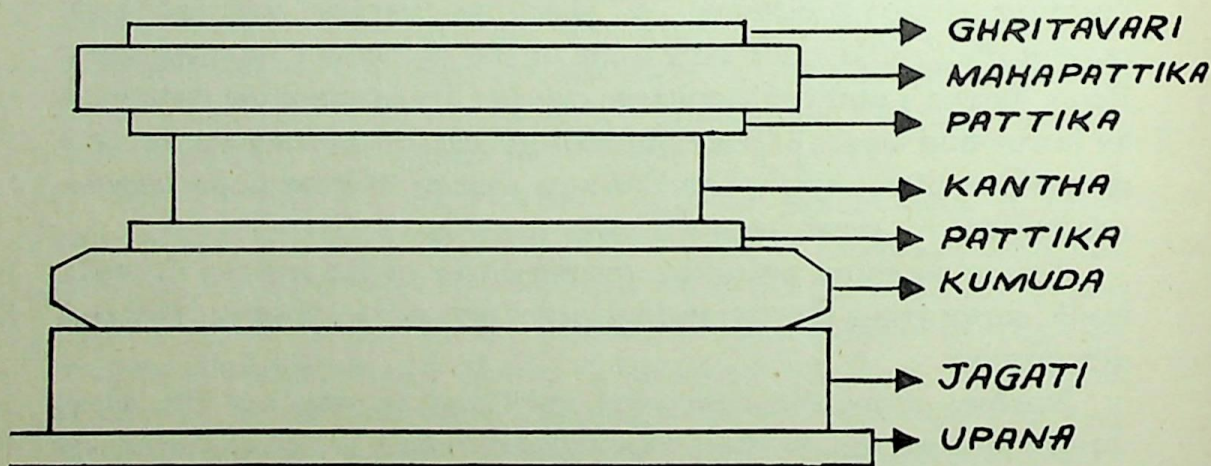
simhamukha that spills over to the second taḷa. Strangely, this is noticed in both the cases. Between the bhadraśāla and the flankings, there is an identical mahānāśi with its simhamukha, but in the same hāra—a feature shared between the inner gōpuram and the śrīvimānam. Each of the thirteen taḷas has its own composition of śālas, kūṭas and nīḍas in varying permutations. In the middle of the bhadraśāla, in alternate hāras, there is a niche housing a figure.

The severe linearity of the contours of the śrīvimāna is tempered to a pleasing picture of low undulations in light and shade produced by the varying height and width of the kūṭas, śālas, and nīḍas in each taḷa. The high-walled cella, supporting the pyramidal part terminated by a semi-spherical cap (cupola), produces a striking spectacle, outrivalling the similar but diminutive structure of the Māmallapuram temple-on-the-shore of the 7th century A.D. and the Gangaikoṇḍa-śōlīśvaram temple erected a couple of decades later. It speaks of the genius of Rājarāja I and his stapathis who, under his inspiration, conceived of a unique design of this type. 'That this monument has so splendidly survived, for about a millenium now, inspite of the ravages of time, the political vicissitudes and the utter misuse to which the temple campus was put during the wars between the French and the English, is itself a tribute to the skill and attainment of the Dravidian sthapati, in building stone structures, so solid, so perfect and of such magnitude'.[1] The warp and woof of the pyramidal tapestry drew Percy Brown's pointed attention: says he: 'Its surfaces are patterned by horizontal layers of the diminishing tiers intersecting the vertical disposition of the ornamental shrines, thus producing an architectural texture of great beauty'.[2] (See ill. 9, p. 57).

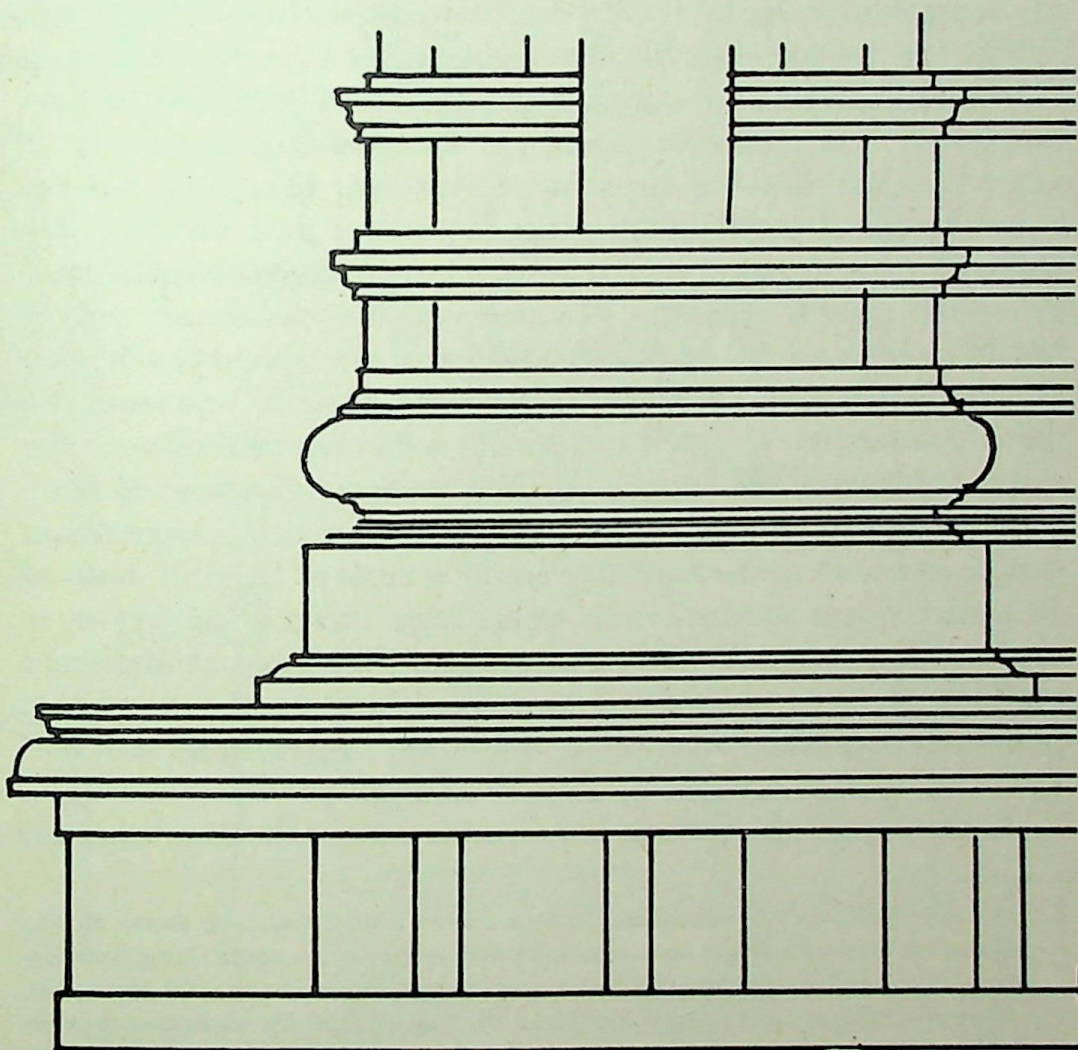
Before we move on to the ancillary halls of the temple, the cella itself, supporting the pyramidal super-structure, deserves detailed description.

Starting from the courtyard level and leaving out the plain upapīṭham we get to the adhishṭhānam which is not cluttered up with the entire range of prescribed mouldings but has, in keeping

1. Middle Chōḷa Temples, S.R. Bālasubrahmaṇyam, p. 20.
2. Indian Architecture, Percy Brown, p. 100.

with the grand simplicity of the monument, a high kaṇḍam and a dominant kumudam moulding, with unarticulated upānam and padmam mouldings below. The varimānam is a string of delightfully carved leogryphs in high relief, in various postures, with semi-divine riders on them. At the intersection of the pilaster and the frieze, however, the leogryph is replaced by a projecting element, depicting a yawning makara-mouth within which again are two mutually facing leogryphs with riders in miniature. This design is repeated at every pilaster intersection. This tier is followed by the vāri over which rise the pilasters, twelve to a side. They extend to the wall surface of the ardhamaṇḍapa and the mahāmaṇḍapa too. They are all identical in shape and structure with the usual constituents of kāl, padma-bandham, taḍi, kumbham, kumudam and palagai[1]. The surface treatment of these pilasters, square in cross section, is severely plain. The corbels resting on the pilasters are elementary in design with the standard tenon and unscalloped chamfered flanks. The bhūtagaṇa frieze then follows and thereafter the cornice, decorated with kūḍus (or nāśis) with a simhamukha projecting overhead, and an inset miniature sculptural panel on different themes like dancing Naṭarāja, Śiva and Pārvati, Gaṇēśa, Bhikshāṭana, Kankāḷamūrti and others, numbering forty-four in all on all the

L_1. Standard Mouldings of the Adhishṭhānam.

1. See ill. at p. 280, 281.

four sides. On the cornice rests the yali frieze, which is a faithful repetition of the varimānam frieze of the adhishṭhānam, with leogryphs and their riders, with terminal makara-mouths, yawning out a panel of twin leogryphs with riders in a dimunitive form. On the garbhagriha wall surface, on the bhadra and karṇa faces, there are divine forms, gaṇas, and other thematic panels as cameos; and so in the recesses, in the free space between the kumbha-panchara and the cut-in walls. (See ill. 11A, 11B, p. 59; 13A, p. 67).

L₂. Rājarājēśvaram Basement

The enormous height of 15.25 metres of the garbhagriha wall over the upapīṭham demanded an architectural contrivance to break the monotony of sheer height. This was achieved by dividing the wall into two courses, an upper and a lower one, separated by a string course complex comprising a yāḷi frieze, a cornice and a bhūtagaṇa frieze. Despite bringing about the much needed break in the vertical piling up of mass, the horizontal overhanging cornice does not distort the general feel of the upward moving structure, emphasised by the two rows of pilasters above and below this dividing cornice. The two courses are unequal in height, the upper one being shorter. In the vertical direction, the surfaces of these two courses are divided into five compartments or bays, the adjoining bays being separated by wide recesses, almost as broad as the bays themselves.[1] The central bay, known as the bhadra compartment, is wider than the flanking karṇa compartments. Excepting the extreme karṇas, framed by the canton-pilaster, and the one immediately next, the other compartments are divided into equal parts by evenly spaced pilasters. The recesses are decorated with a kumbha panchara (p. 87, 92) comprising a pot spilling over with foliated flanks, with a pillar rising vertically above to represent the tree of knowledge. The projections offer lithic canvases to house the numerous deities who begin to proliferate from the time of Śembiyan Mahādēvi, though, even as early as in the Koranganāthar temple and later at the Saptarishīśvarar temple at Lālguḍi, both of an earlier era, a multiplicity of dēvakōshṭa images had begun to appear.[2] The central bhadra element spans four pilasters and has a common plane for its facade. The space between the two inner pilasters is opened up to constitute a doorway (dvāra) in the cardinal direction. (See colour ill. 7A, B, C & D, p 99).

In the adjoining segments between the outer and inner pilasters

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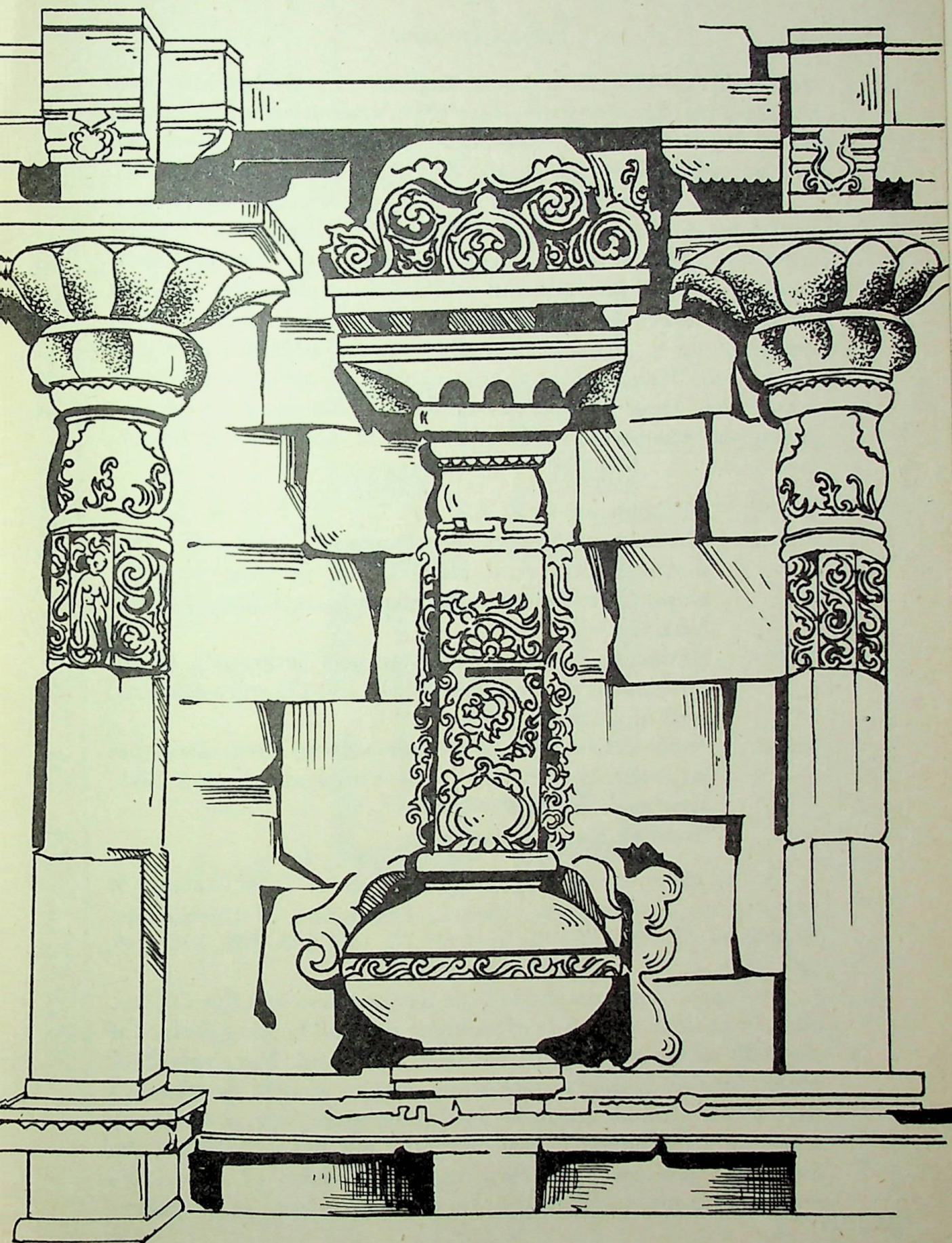
1. This technique is further refined and developed into a general feature in almost all later structures where such height was sought to be achieved, as in the case of Gangaikoṇḍaśōḻīśvaram, and in fact as in most of the gōpurams of major dimensions as at Chidambaram, Tiruvārūr, Paḻaiyarai and several other places. Such an architectural manipulation of the wall surface is in keeping with the mass and size of the structures that begin to rear their head all over the south after the advent of the 11th century.
2. Temple Art under the Chōḻa Queens, B. Venkaṭarāman, Ch. 3, pp. 59–64.

L_3. Kumbha-Panchara

are, one to each side, the ornate dvārapālas carved after what may be called the Rājarājan style—four arms, trident-mounted crown, protruding teeth like tiger claws, couchant lion at the feet—all cast in giant proportions. (See ill. 4A, 4B, 5A, p. 20, 39, ill. 14, p. 68).

In each of the other four projecting elements, there is a dēvakōshṭa (p. 94). In the upper course, all the six pilaster-framed faces have niches devoted to gods and demi-gods. The pattern is repeated on the south, west and north walls, while in the east, the needs of architectural integration with the forward members of the temple has led to the elimination of all but the flanking karṇas and dēvakōshṭas. These figures are given below in a clockwise order, commencing from the sourthern karṇa of the eastern wall and ending with the northern karṇa. In the first tier or lower course, they are:—

EAST: Lingōdbhavar

SOUTH: Bhikshāṭanar, Vīrabhadrar, Dvārapāla, Dvārapāla, Dakshiṇāmūrti (an extra insertion out of tune with the symmetry of the structural disposition), Kālāntakar and Naṭarājar.

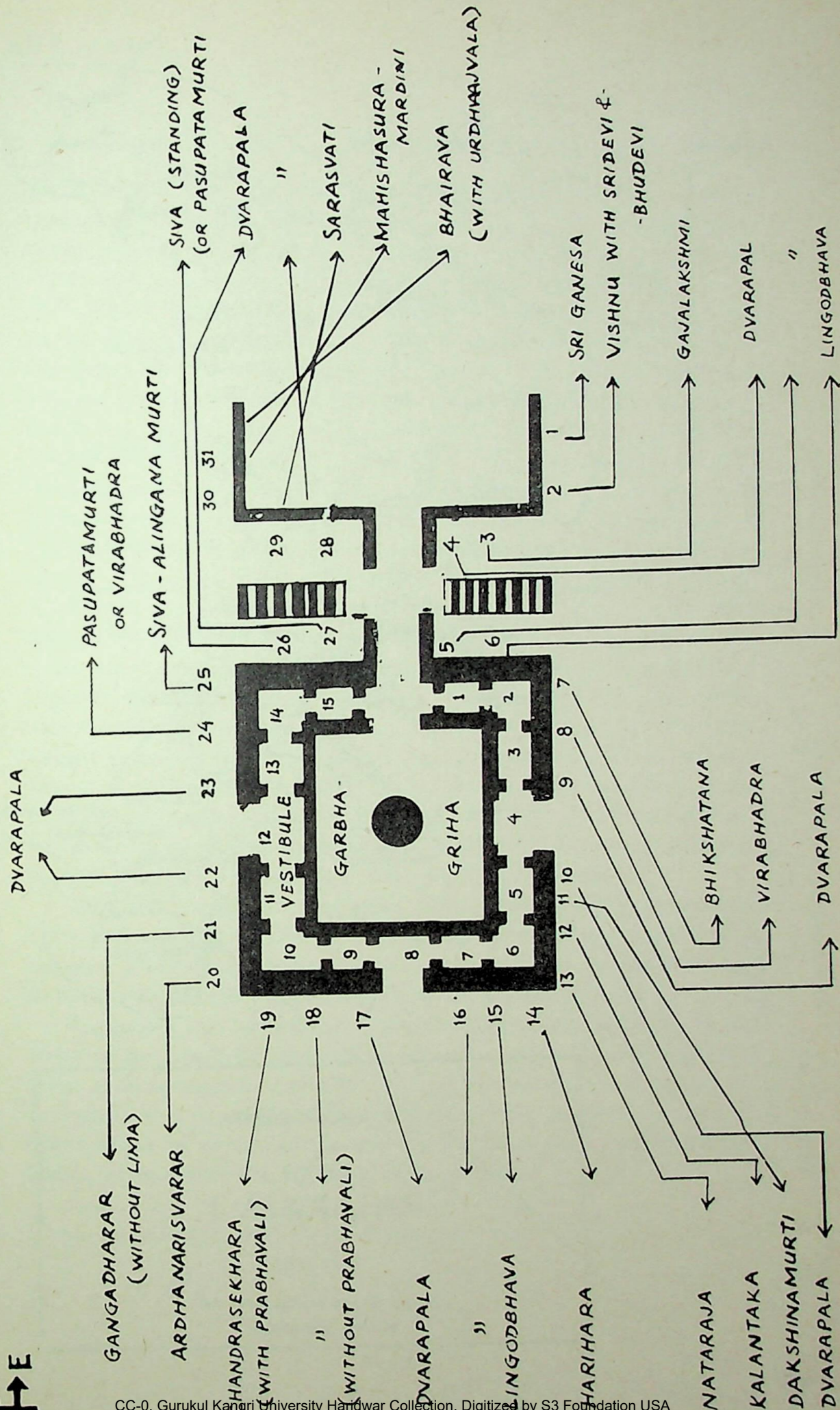
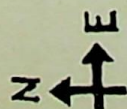
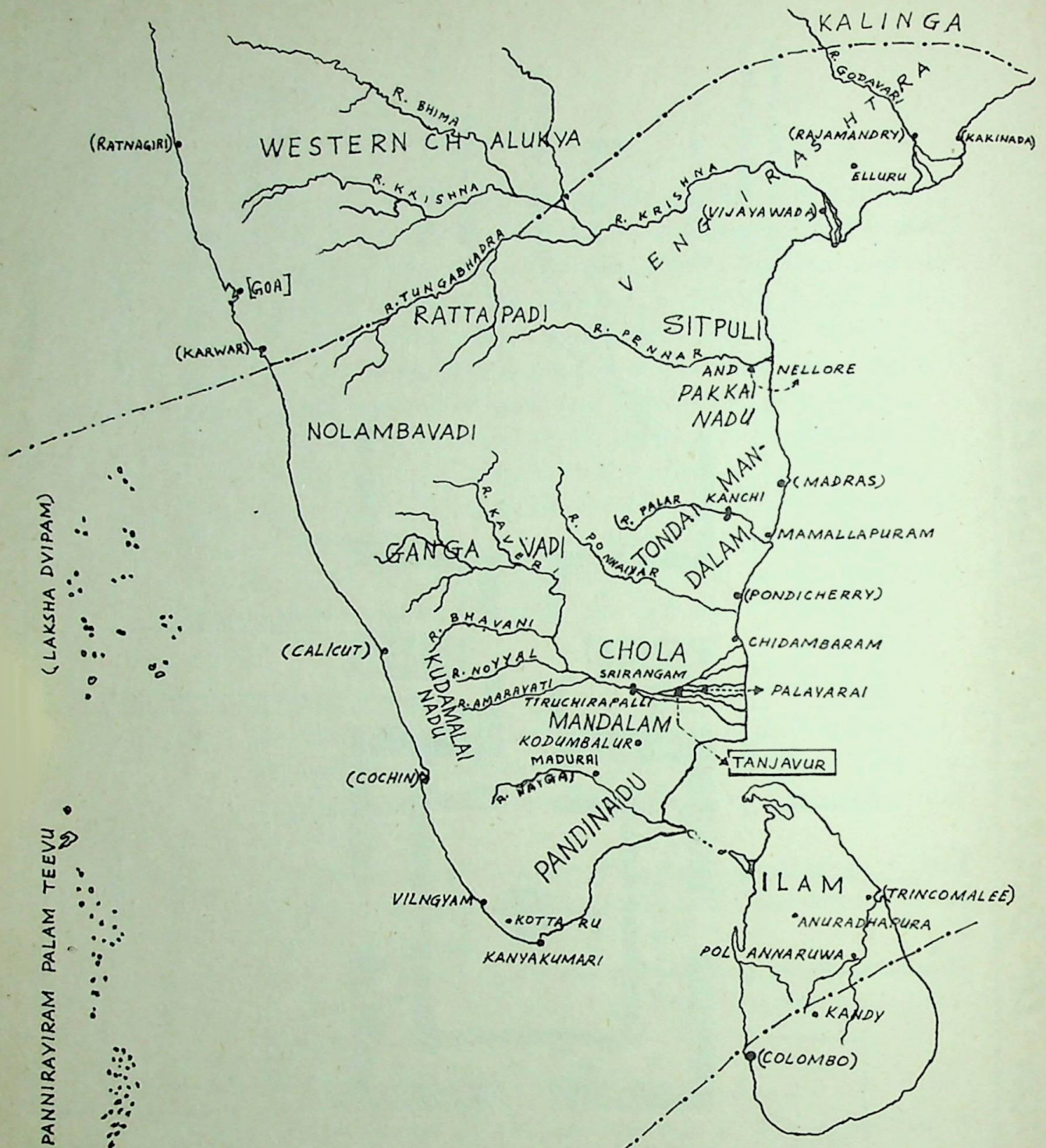
WEST: Hariharar, Lingōdbhavar, Dvarapāla, Dvārapāla, Chandraśēkharar (without prabhāvaḷi) and Chandra-śēkharar (with prabhāvaḷi).

NORTH: Ardhanāriśvarar, Gangādharar (without Umā), Dvārapāla, Dvārapāla, Paśupati (or Vīrabhadrar) and Śivaālingina-mūrti, and

EAST: Standing Śiva (Pāśupatamūrti).

In the niches of the upper course, Śiva as Tripurāntakar is repeated in different poses. (See L_4 Disposition of Dēvakōshṭa images, pp. 89–90). (Also ills. at p. 69, 70, 107, 108, 109, 110, 149, 150, 151).

To support the large mass of the thirteen tiers and the śikhara, all made of stone, the device of widening the load-bearing surface of the walls of the garbhagriha has been conceived. But, instead of presenting the requisite surface in one compact stretch, the sthapatis have struck upon an utilitarian and, at the same time, aesthetically satisfying arrangement of two unicentric parallel walls on all the four sides, removed from each other by a width of about 1.68 metres. This gap, as will be seen later, serves to form an art gallery

DISPOSITION OF DEVAKOSHTA IMAGES

THE CHOLA EMPIRE

UNDER

RAJARAJA I

A.D. 1012

(Towns shown in Brackets are Modern Locations)

invaluable to the student of Draviḍian art. Thus, the sanctum sanctorum[1] has two walls around it, the inner dimensions of the outer wall being a square of 17.98 metres, while the outer size of the inner wall is a square 14.63 metres to a side. The garbhagriha is a 7.77 metre square. This mode of broadbasing the wall is known as the Sāndhara type, the outer and the inner walls being known as the bāhya bhitti and the antara bhitti respectively. This architectural feature is no innovation in the case of the Rājarājēśvaram temple; there have been illustrious precedents for it, as for instance in the Vaikunṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kānchi, built during the Pallava days. An interesting aspect of this vestibule design in the case of the Rājarājēśvaram temple is the division of the corridor space into a ground floor and a first floor, corresponding to the lower and the upper courses of the garbhagriha wall. The walls of the vestibule have been put to ingenious use; those of the lower floor are covered with murals of great artistic merit; while those of the upper tier have been converted into a Bharatanāṭyam panel gallery. These galleries receive light through huge windows on the bhadra elements of the outer wall of the garbhagriha. The window stretches to its full height from the adhishṭhānam to the prastara, in both the courses. Direct as well as diffused light produces a very pleasing effect on the high relief dance panels in the first floor, while the ground floor vestibule takes on the quality of a subdued light-controlled gallery of murals. (See ills. at pp. 100, 125, 126, 127, 163, 164).

This technique of rectangular false dvāra openings, extended even into the first hāra of the śrīvimāna, later on gets stabilised to become a common architectural feature in tower (gōpuram) construction in almost all the future South Indian temples.

To gather the 'abhishēka' (ritual bathing) water falling from the chute of the āvuḍaiyār(yōni-pīṭham) and to carry it to the courtyard there is an open drain that cuts through the two walls of the sanctum and ends in a gargoyle. Which is a plain, long, downward sloping, open drain in stone, supported on the head of a conch-blowing bhūta of massive size. (See ill. 28B, p. 166).

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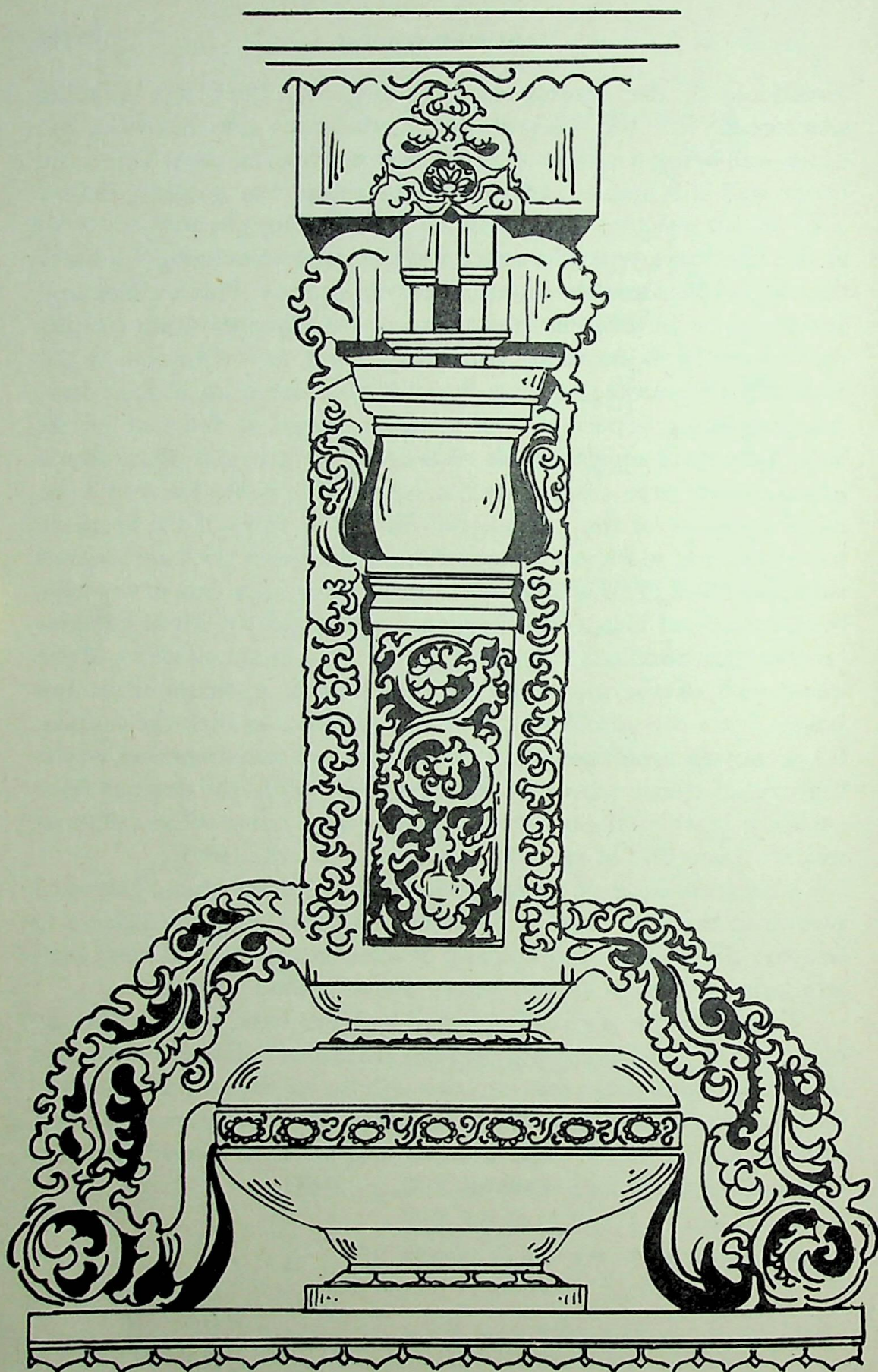
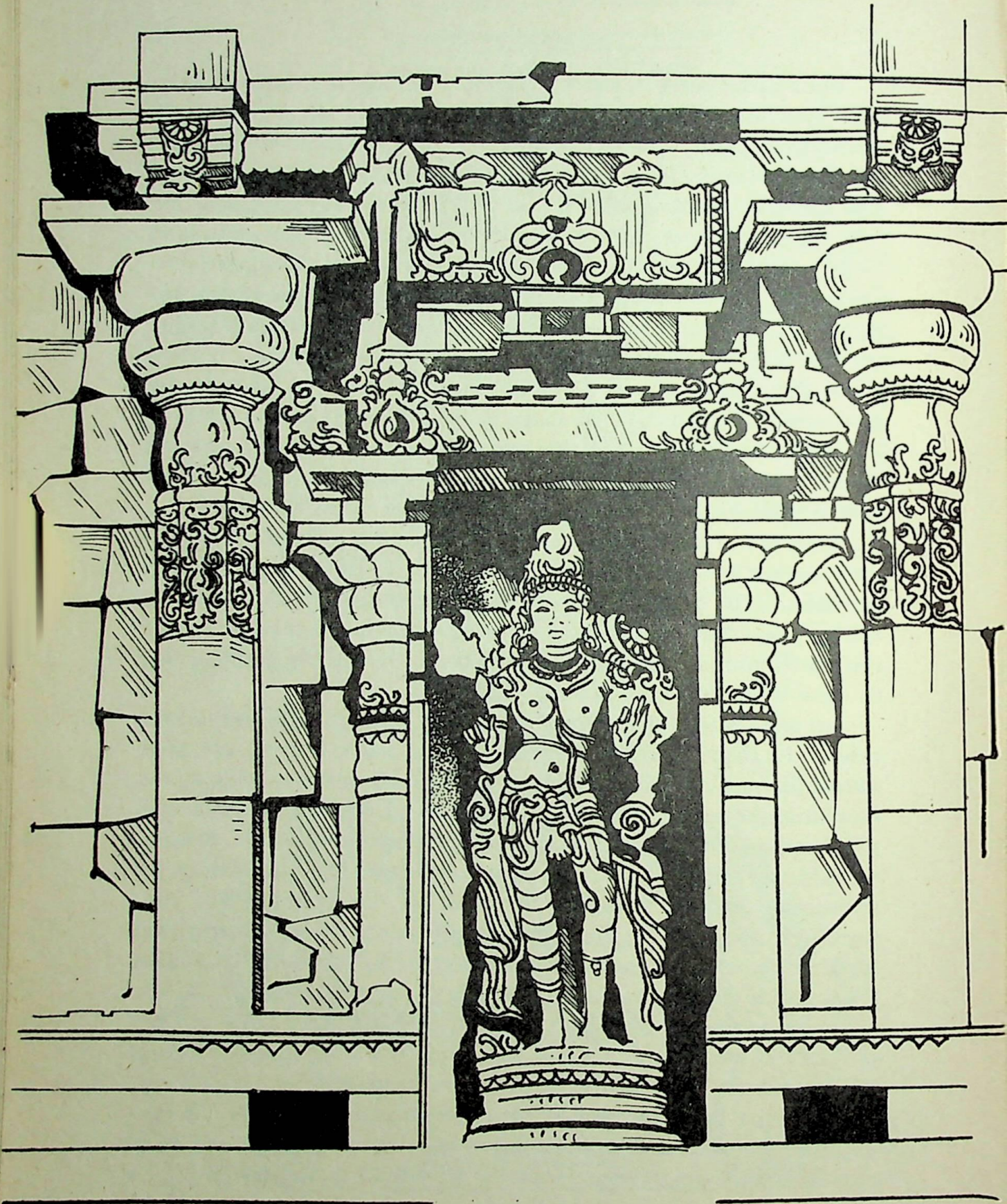
1. See Line drawing L_7 at p. 115–116 (Chapter IV).

L_5. Kumbha Panchara

Thus ensconced in the innermost sanctum, is the main deity, Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār, which is in the form of an enormous monolithic plain cylindrical lingam of 1.66 metres diameter, mounted on an āvuḍaiyār (or yōni-pīṭham) of 5.44 metres diameter. The box-like garbhagriha with its 24.38 metre side externally and 7.77 metre side internally is covered with a lid-like flat roof over its 15.24 metre high walls and, from that roof as a platform, rises the pyramidal superstructure which is hollow inside and presents a fine picture of the overflying corbelling system common to South Indian architecture, thus bringing the tapering walls to a common meeting point just below the grīvā. Pulled in towards the axis of the truncated cone, which is the shape of the hollow inside, the stones of the mounting layers give the appearance of a series of serrated circles of diminishing radii, till at, or almost near, the top, the single 80-ton slab spoken of earlier truncates and closes the cone.

Built in the days prior to the advent of a separate and independent shrine for the Consort of the Lord, Rājarājēśvaram had no provision in its original plan for a shrine for Amman (the Consort). She is found here as Bhōgaśakti, a seated icon in metal by the side of the north jamb of the doorway, allowing access to the garbhagriha, in tune with the then current practice.

An ardhamaṇḍapa adjoins the garbhagriha. It plays an essential role in the distribution of the mass and the height over the common adhishṭhānam on which the garbhagriha, the ardhamaṇḍapa, the mahāmaṇḍapa and the maṇimaṇḍapa stand. The garbhagriha and the mahāmaṇḍapa, which share the same horizontally flowing mouldings, grooves and courses, as well as overhanging cornice, all running from one structure to the other, are linked into a continuum in stone by the ardhamaṇḍapa which provides a constricted neck giving the necessary recess effect to an otherwise elongated rectangular formation. The mouldings of the pilasters of the ardhamaṇḍapa are identical with those of the other halls and the sanctum of the temple. It has, therefore, the same upapīṭham and adhishṭhānam but, being hemmed in between the fore of the garbhagriha and the rear of the mahāmaṇḍapa, it seeks outlets through two lateral doorways. They open out to a flight of steps in two tiers, reaching down from the threshold to the courtyard. A

L_6. A Typical Niche of the Garbhagriha wall

similar arrangement exists on the northern side. The floor of the ardhamaṇḍapa is almost 6.00 metres above the courtyard level and the height of the upapīṭham is covered by a flight of steps protected on the sides by low, sinuous, elephant-trunk-like balustrades. There is a landing midway, corresponding to the top of the upapīṭham. Taking off from here is the second flight similarly balustraded reaching the gateway which is guarded by the Rājarāja style massive dvārapālas, one to each side. Over the lintel of this (the southern) doorway are inscribed, in the usual beautiful calligraphy the words, 'Svasti Śrī Vikrama Śōḻan Tiruvāśal'—'the sacred doorway of Vikrama Chōḻa'. Vikrama Chōḻa was a surname of Rājēndra I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I. It may be recalled that Rājarāja I crowned his son Rājēndra I, alias Vikrama Chōḻa as the yuvarāja in A.D. 1012, corresponding to his own 27th year, a recognition presumably of the sweeping victories with which he had returned home from the northern borders of the kingdom. (See ill. 10, p. 58; 13B, p. 67).

Inside the ardhamaṇḍapa is a plain big hall, with four massive square pillars shouldering the over-burden of the upper storeys. This maṇḍapa plays a dual role, being the snapana (bathing) hall as well.

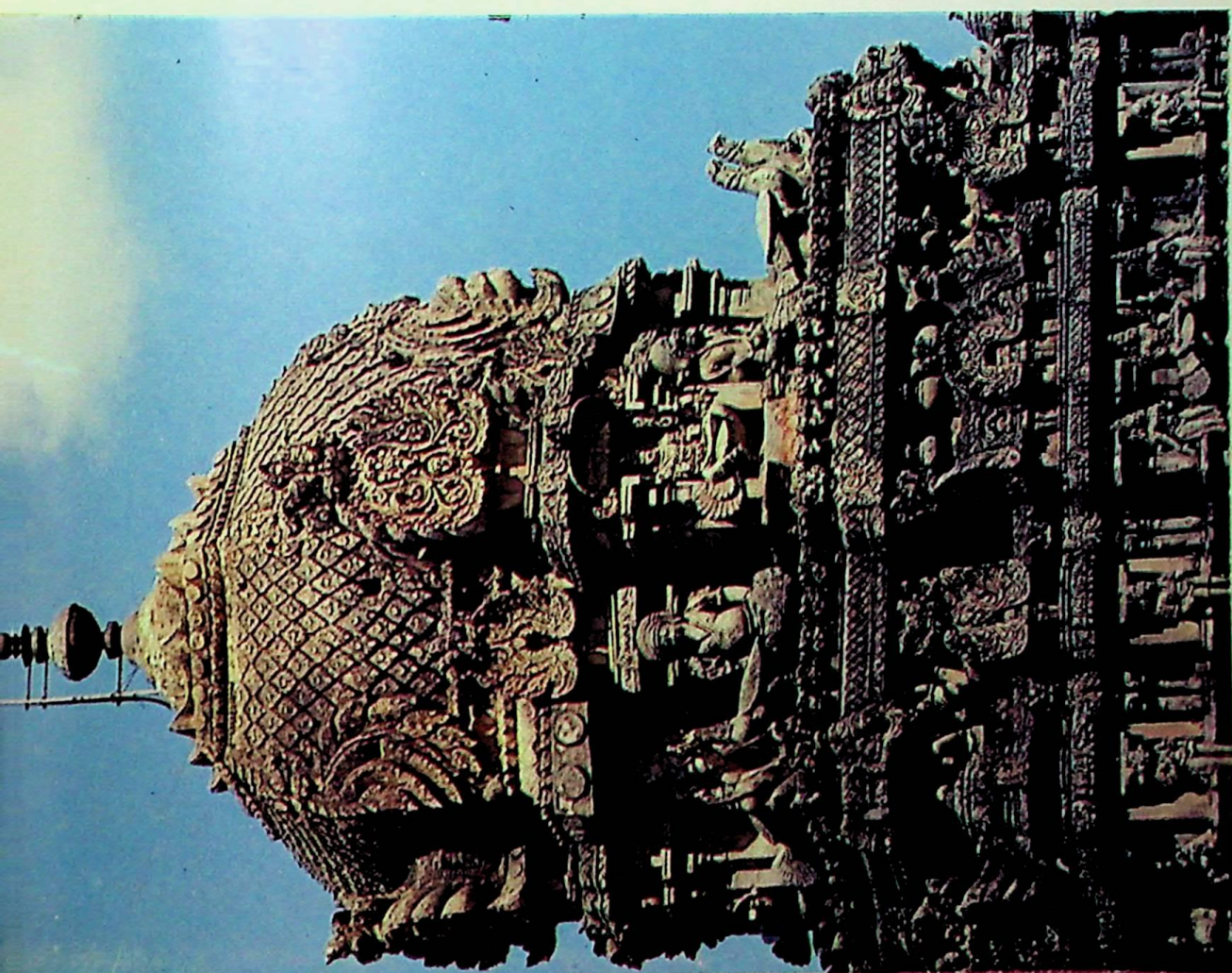
The mahāmaṇḍapa is in two big chambers, and could be treated as two halls—a mahā and a mukha maṇḍapa. A major part of the hall had collapsed in some distant past and been closed up crudely at a later date to conform to the broad configuration of the eastern hall. But from the vestiges at its eastern and western ends it is easy to reconstruct the original composition. The icons from most of the niches that have survived have disappeared. But some fine examples are still found intact, as for instance the two niche figures on the lower course of the northern wall close to its eastern end. Over the two-course hall is a parapet wall of the same height as that of the first hāra of the garbhagriha, simple in design and supporting a row of nandis, of which a few remain, close to where the mahāmaṇḍapa links up with the ardhamaṇḍapa. On the western wall of this maṇḍapa, there are two huge exquisitely carved and well-preserved images of Sarasvati and Gajalakshmi, the former to the north and the latter to the south of the ardhamaṇḍapa. On the northern wall, the first two niches from the western side still preserve their deities,

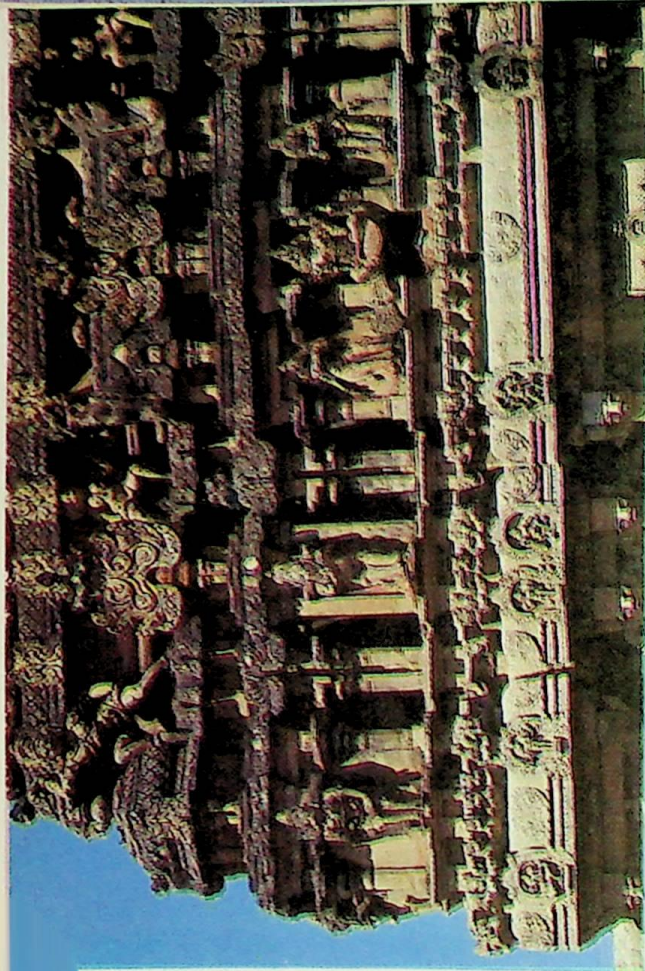
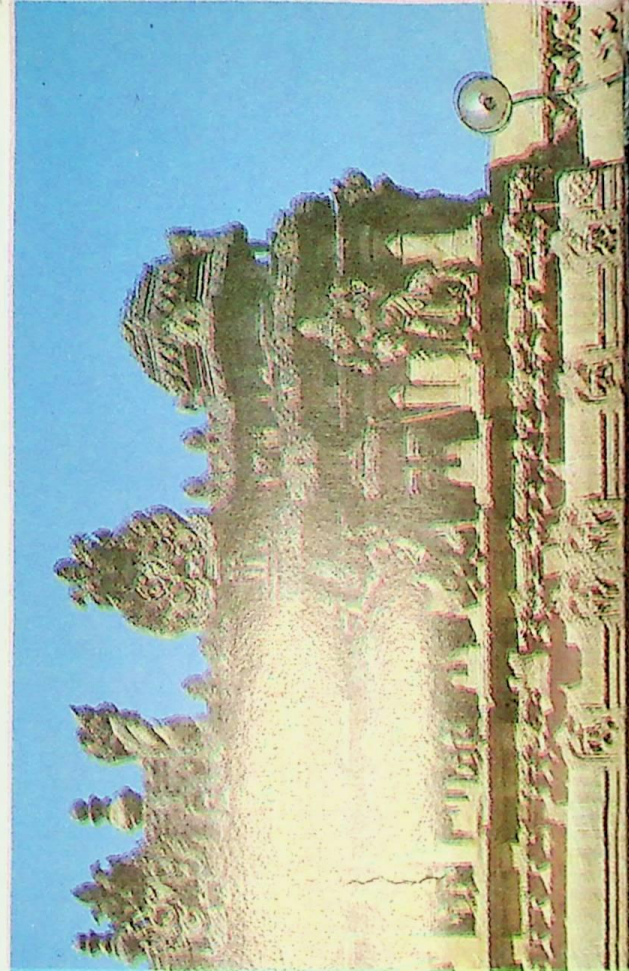
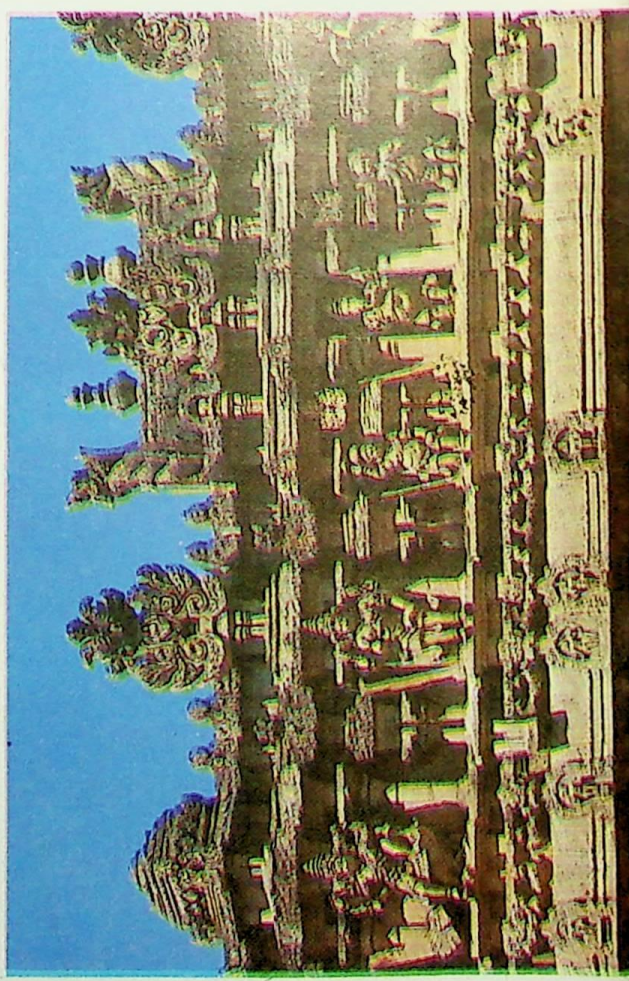
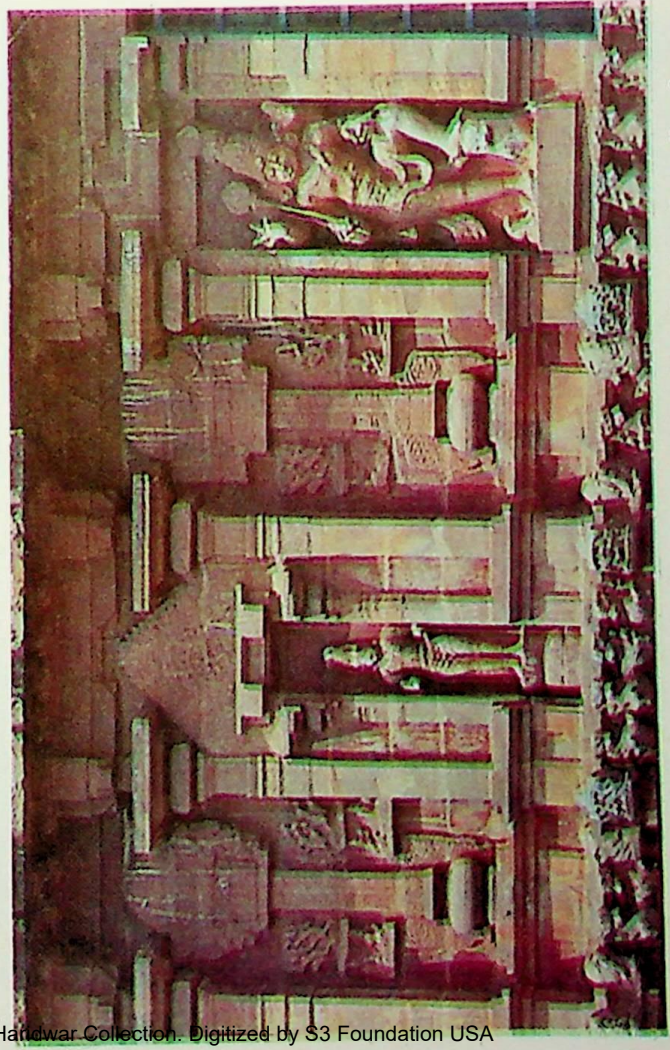
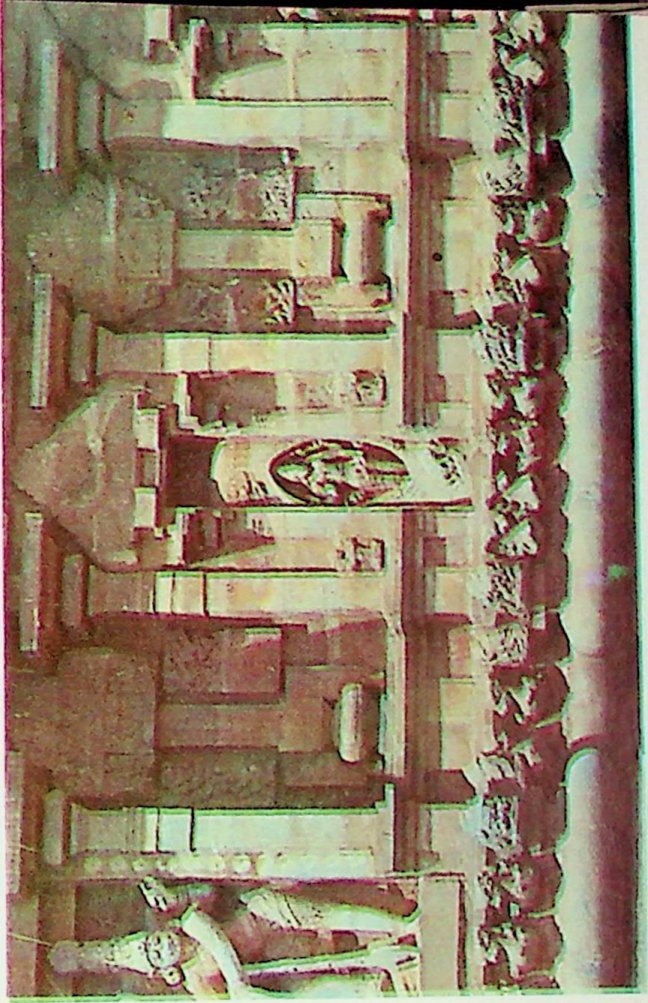
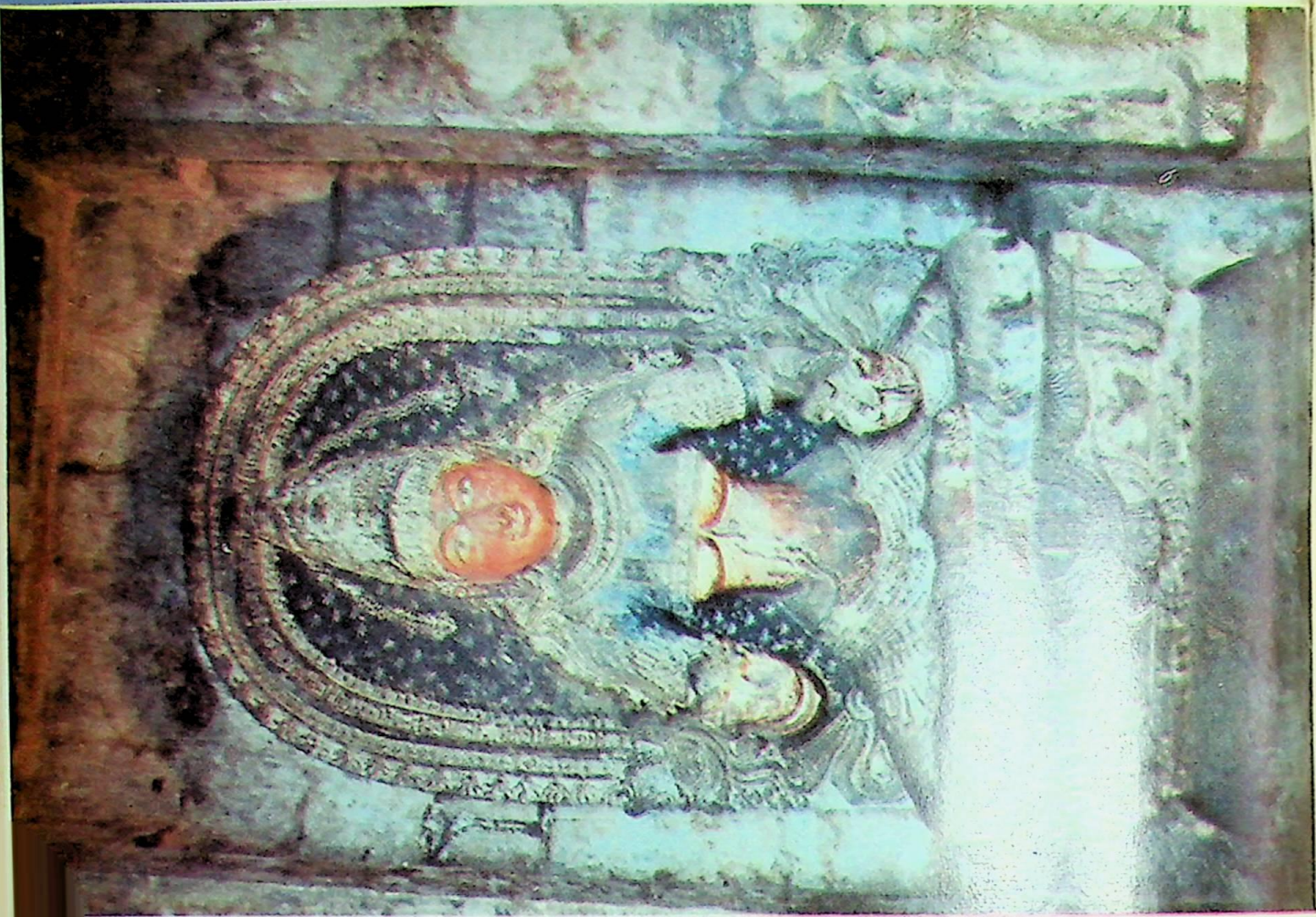
namely Durgā and Ūrdhva jvāla Bhairava. Similarly, on the southern wall, there are the images of Vishnu with Śrī Dēvī and Bhū Dēvi, and Gaṇēśa. (See ill. 22A, 22B, p. 150; 15A, B, C & D, p. 69).

Inside the mahāmaṇḍapa there are some bronzes, particularly a representation of Rājarāja I, and another of a Viṭankar, a processional deity, both evidently later substitutions. Two gigantic dvārapālas still guard the eastern entrance.

The agra or maṇi maṇḍapa with massive eves is an open multi-pillared hall of a width narrower than that of the mahāmaṇḍapa. This hall is reached from the flanks by an easy flight of steps (in the south and north sides). The superstructure of the maṇi maṇḍapa would seem to be a Later Chōḻa contribution, judged on stylistic grounds, though the upapīṭham and base are coevel with the main structure. The flight of steps from the front is also a later accretion. This completes the unitary structure of the main temple.

On the same axis as that of the main structure but separated from it is the Nandi maṇḍapa about 18 metres further east. It is a plain open hall with a flat roof, housing the recumbent mount of Śiva, Nandi, a prodigious monolithic sculpture of realism and beauty. Measuring a gigantic 3.66 metres in height, 5.94 metres in length and 2.59 metres in breadth, this Nandi is said to weigh about 25.40 tonnes. Photographs taken at the turn of the last century show this maṇḍapa as a plain, uncluttered 16 pillared structure, obviously of a post-Chōḻa date. Judged from the pillar designs, the maṇḍapa could be attributed to the Nāyaka period. We do not know what earlier structure canopied the Nandi, if at all there was one. Today grills and gates have marred the pristine beauty of the epic bull. The dvajasthamba, as tall as the Nandi Maṇḍapa, stands between the latter and the steps leading to the maṇimaṇḍapa. (See ill. 31A, 30A, 31B, p. 240, 241).

A description of Rājarājēśvaram without a reference to the great dvārapālas that guard the various portals of the temple would indeed be incomplete. There are nine pairs of them in all, distributed as follows: two guard the eastern face of the outer gōpuram; another pair guards the entrance to the ardhamaṇḍapa. On the flanks of the Vikrama Śoḻan tiruvāśal, the southern doorway to the ardhamaṇḍapa, there is one pair and another on the flanks of the corresponding northern door (Aṇukka tiruvāśal). Similarly, there is

5A. Grīvā-sikhara of the Subrahmaṇya shrine

5B. Chaṇḍikēśvara shrine

6A,B,C and D   Details of the hāra (showing the śāla, nīḍa and kūṭa modules)

7A,B,C and D Garbhagriha wall surface treatment, showing dēvakōshṭas kumbha-panjaras etc.

a pair at the entrance to the sanctum from the ardhamaṇḍapa. Finally a pair each guards the opening in the middle of the outer garbhagriha walls in the southern, western and northern sides. They are all alike, magnificent in stature, big chested and blazing a new style that comes to characterize the major temples of the days of Rājarāja and his son. (See ill. 14A, B, C & D, p. 68).

At the time of his death, none of the structures like the Subrahmaṇya shrine, the Naṭarāja maṇḍapa or the Amman shrine had come into existence. So we must leave the description of these various shrines and halls in the courtyard of the temple to a later stage as in this chapter we are visualizing the temple as Rājarāja I saw it in the evening of his life. But part and parcel of the original plan were the shrine of Gaṇapati (Piḷḷaiyār) in the south-western corner of the prākāra and the Chaṇḍikēśvara shrine to the immediate north of the garbhagriha of the central shrine, with which we shall deal here.

I. Gaṇapati Shrine:

We do not know if the present shrine for Gaṇapati was the one built along with the main shrine. But what we do know is that a shrine for Gaṇapati was built during Rājarāja's days in the temple courtyard. For, we have it from inscriptional evidence that there were two piḷḷaiyārs in the original plan of the temple complex. They are referred to as Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār and Parivārālayattup-piḷḷāiyār, namely, the Piḷḷaiyār of the ālayam (meaning temple or shrine) and the Piḷḷaiyār of the Parivārālayam (one of the sub-shrines of the eight parivāra dēvatas). (See ill. 4A, p. 4).

We may first collect the references to the Parivārālayattu-piḷḷaiyār. An inscription[1] found on the first niche of the western enclosure mentions that one Aravaṇai, the headman of Paḻūr who held the Office of the Chief Superintendent (kaṇkāṇi nāyagam) of the temple of Rājarājēśvaram, gifted to the image of Parivārālayattup-piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār a brass spittoon (paḍikkam) designed in an octagonal shape after the Īḻam (Śrī Lankā) fashion. On a pillar of

1. SII, II, no. 36.

the western enclosure is an inscription[1] which records gifts to the shrine of Parivārālayattup-piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār made by king Rājēndra and by Ādittan Sūryan alias Tennavan Mūvēndavēḷān, the Manager of the temple. A third reference to this piḷḷaiyār is contained in yet another inscription[2] found on a pillar of the western enclosure. It relates to a gift of a bell-metal dish by one Kanjan Koṇḍaiyān, a native of Kāmadamangalam, who was a paṇi-magan (servant) of Rājarājadēva and the Head of the Department of Rent Rolls. Turning to the Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār, we have a reference to it in an inscription[3] in the first niche in the western wall of enclosure (same as where no. 36 is found) in which it was prescribed that, in lieu of interest on certain sums of money received, the recipients should deliver to the Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār a certain number of bananas as offerings for worship. On a pillar in the western enclosure is another inscription[4] which refers to a gift of copper, zinc and bell-metal vessels to the image of Ālayattup-Piḷḷaiyār- Gaṇapatiyār. The donor was the well-known chief Ādittan Sūryan. Yet another inscription[5] found on a pillar of the western enclosure records gifts made to Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār-Gaṇapatiyār by Marudattūruḍaiyān Madurāntakan Parāntakan, a paṇi-magan of Rājarāja.

On a niche of the western peristyle is again an inscription[6] which mentions gifts made to 'ikkaṇapatiyārukku' meaning 'to *this* Gaṇapati'. We are not sure to which of the two Gaṇapatis the reference is made, as the inscriptions relating to both of them are found on the western wing of the tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai.

Dealing with the inscription no. 85 referred to above, the Editor of South Indian inscriptions opines: 'This image (Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār) was probably in the central shrine and was known as Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār to distinguish him from the Parivārālayattup-piḷḷaiyār, set up apparently in the enclosing verandah of the

1. SII, II, no. 86; 32 of 1897.
2. SII, II, no. 88; 34 of 1897.
3. SII, II, no. 37.
4. SII, II, no. 85; ARE No. 31 of 1897.
5. SII, II, no. 87; ARE No. 33 of 1897.
6. SII, II, no. 89.

temple'[1]. In a footnote at p. 151 of the same volume[2], the same Editor observes: 'Ālaya has the same meaning as Parivārālaya in No. 36 and as tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai in No. 31, para 2'. There is contradiction between the two statements. What, however, seems indisputable is that the Parivārālayattup-Piḷḷaiyār-Gaṇapatiyār refers to the Ganēśa in the shrine near the tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai (the peristyle). The identification of Ālayattup-Piḷḷaiyār presents difficulty. The term obviously means the Gaṇapati of the Ālaya, which could mean temple or shrine. Epigraphical support[3] is available to the setting up of seven copper images of the God Gaṇapati by Rājarāja himself, two in standing, two in dancing and three in sukhāsana postures. These were set up in the main temple—the axial complex—and possibly housed in the mahāmaṇḍapa. But they have not been referred to as Ālayattup-Piḷḷaiyārs, whereas the piḷḷaiyār-Ganapatiyār we have been discussing is referred to as belonging to the Ālaya.

Based on these facts culled from epigraphs, the conclusion seems reasonable that the Ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār refers to the Gaṇapati image in the dēvakōshṭha or a metallic sculpture set up inside the temple, whereas the Parivārālayattup-Piḷḷaiyār refers to the deity in the sub-shrine found in the south-west corner, which, however, had undergone subsequent renovation. There is a gigantic and beautifully carved sculpture of Gaṇapati presently kept in the southern wing of the tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai (near the site office of the Archaeological Survey of India) and this is of the same quality of stone as has been used for the rest of the temple. It is said that this image was originally housed in the Gaṇapati shrine, in the south-west corner. Sarfōji II was the last Chief of the Marāṭha dynasty which had ruled over Tanjāvūr before it passed into the hands of the English in A.D. 1832. His rule from A.D. 1798 to 1833 saw many improvements in the Tanjāvūr temple.

Sarfōji claims to have renewed[4] the earlier structure of the

1. SII, II, p. 407.
2. SII, II, no. 151.
3. SII, II, no. 84.
4. ARE 420 of 1924.

Gaṇapati shrine. He used the term 'puduppitta' which could lend itself to mean that the earlier structure was replaced or merely refurbished or modified. The shrine as Sarfōji left for us consists of the śrīvimāna, the ardhamaṇḍapa and the mahāmaṇḍapa. The śrīvimāna is square in cross-section with a tri-taḷa superstructure, while the maṇḍapa in front is a plain four-pillared one, the entire structure standing on a high plinth. (See ill. 1, 3 pp. 1–3).

II. Chaṇḍikēśvarar Shrine:

This midget shrine,[1] a piece of compact architecture, is located at its wonted place, adjoining the main building, almost at the foot of the steps leading down from the northern entrance to the ardha-maṇḍapa. This is according to the prescription on the subject. 'The image of Chaṇḍēśvarar', says T.A. Gōpinatha Rao, 'is essential in a Śiva temple and should be set up in the north-east corner with reference to the central shrine of the temple[2]'. Thus, in the temples where Chaṇḍēśvara is given his rightful place, his shrine adjoins the north-eastern corner of the garbhagriha, and is, therefore, practically to the north of the antarāḷa, ardhamaṇḍapa or mukhamaṇḍapa, whichever adjoins the garbhagriha. The Āgamas prescribe various specifications for the icon of Chaṇḍēśvara, with varying

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1. K.R. Śrīnivāsan, in his 'Temples of South India', p. 142 mentions that 'this position (of the shrine of Chaṇḍīśvara in relation to the main building) located by Rājarāja in his great temple became the norm for all Śiva temples of subsequent periods'. I do not think this would be correct. Because, even in the early Chōḷa period, i.e., in the 9th and 10th centuries, we find this position taken by Chaṇḍīkēśa, while Rājarājēśvaram belongs really to an early decade of the 11th century. Examples of earlier temples, with Chaṇḍikēsa in the same position as in the Rājarājēśvaram, are:
   a) Nāgēśvaraswāmi temple, Kumbakōṇam—Āditya I (A.D. 870–907)—See Plan VIII in Early Chōḷa Art, Part I by S.R. Balasubrahmaṇyam.
   b) Sundarēśvarar temple, Nangavaram (See Plan II in Early Chōḷa temples, by S.R. Bālasubrahmaṇyam) (Not later than A.D. 917, 10th year of Parāntaka I).
   c) Achalēśvaram or Ara-neri-Īśvaram, Tiruvārūr (Śembiyan Mahādēvi's construction Cir. A.D. 990; see Plan III in Early Chōḷa Temples, by S.R. Bālasubrahmaṇyam).
   d) Tāntōnrīśvarar temple, Uraiyūr (See Plan IV in Early Chōḷa Temples, by S.R. Bālasubrahmaṇyam).

   The examples are numerous and can be multiplied.
2. Elements of Hindu Iconography, T.A. Gopinatha Rao— Vol. 2, Pt. II, p. 462.

number of eyes, faces and hands, commonly seated in the vīrāsana posture carrying a paraśu or ṭanka in the right hand, the left hand resting on the left thigh. When standing, he is in the samabhanga posture, with the palms held in the anjali pose and a ṭanka in the loop of the arms, leaning to the left.

In the Middle Chōḷa period, Chaṇḍēśvara occupied a unique place in temple administration. All transactions of a legal nature, having among others contractual obligations entered into by the temple administration, were in the name of Chaṇḍēśvara. He received the gifts made to the temple and ordered their dispensation in the best interests of the central deity. Documents were registered in his name and deeds executed by him for, and on behalf of, the central deity. Auction of temple property was conducted in his name and the transaction was known as 'Chaṇḍēśvara peruvilai'. Thus he functioned as Śiva's high steward.

In the Rājarājēśvaram temple, the shrine dedicated to him comprises a compact garbhagriha with a maṇḍapa in front, both on a common high upapīṭham and adhishṭhānam, falling in step with the overall architectural scheme. At the upapīṭham and adhishṭhānam levels, the constituent mouldings are the same as in the main building, but proportionately reduced in scale. A kumbha-panchara demarcates the maṇḍapa in front from the garbhagriha. The pilasters are in tune with, and share the same features as those of the main shrine. In front of the maṇḍapa are two flights of steps leading up to a landing, level with the maṇḍapa floor. On the walls are inscriptions dated in the 29th year of Rājarāja I. The śrīvimāna of the Chaṇḍēśvara shrine is an ēka-taḷa structure, square in cross-section at the taḷa level, and octagonal at the stages of the grīva and the śikhara. The garbhagriha walls are decorated with the usual three-tier prastara comprising the bhūtagaṇa frieze, the kūḍu-adorned cornice and the yāḷi frieze, above which, at the level of the hāra, are the bhadra śāla with its own kōshṭa figures and the corner karṇakūṭas. The prastara or the platform over which the grīvā rises, is similarly decorated with four nandis, recumbant in the corners of the square platform. There are four grīvā kōshṭas in which different representations of Chaṇḍēśvara are found. (See ill. 58, p. 97).

III. Tiruch-Churru-Māligai:

An integral constituent of the total composition of Rājarājēśvaram is the architecturally pleasing circumambient tiruch-churru-māligai, the sacred wall of enclosure. In the southern wing of this enclosure on the north face of a pillar is an inscription which reads as follows:

> Svasti Śrīhi:
> Ētad viśva nripaśrēṇi moulimālōpalālitam:
> Śāsanam Rājarājasya Rājakēsari-varmaṇah:
> Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājarājadēvar tiruvōy moḻindaruḷa it-tiruch-churru-māḷigai eḍupittām Sēnāpati Śōḻa-maṇḍalattu Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāṭṭu Veṇ nāṭṭu Amanguḍiyāna Kēraḷāntaka-Chaturvēdi mangalattu Śrī Krishṇan Irāmanāna Mummaḍi Śōḻa Brahma-mārāyan.[1]

This inscription is repeated on a niche of the same wing of the tiruch-churru-māḷigai, and again on a niche of the western wing of the enclosure. They all go to confirm that this tiruch-churru-māḷigai was raised by the famous Minister-General of Rājarāja I, named Krishṇan Rāman (also called Mummaḍiśōḻa Brahma-mārāyan, evidently a title bestowed upon him by the king), who hailed from the village of Amanguḍi, otherwise called Kēraḷāntaka Chaturvēdimangalam, in the subdivision (nāḍu) of Veṇ, in the district (vaḷanādu) of Uyyakkoṇḍān, in the province of Śōḻamaṇḍalam. Krishṇan Rāman was Rājarāja's Chief Secretary (Ōlai nāyakam) who served him well through his life-time, in peace as well as in war. In fact, we hear of the same chief serving Rājēndra I, during whose time, as was the vogue then, he went by the name of Rājēndraśōḻa Brahmamārāyan, adopting the ruler's name in his title.

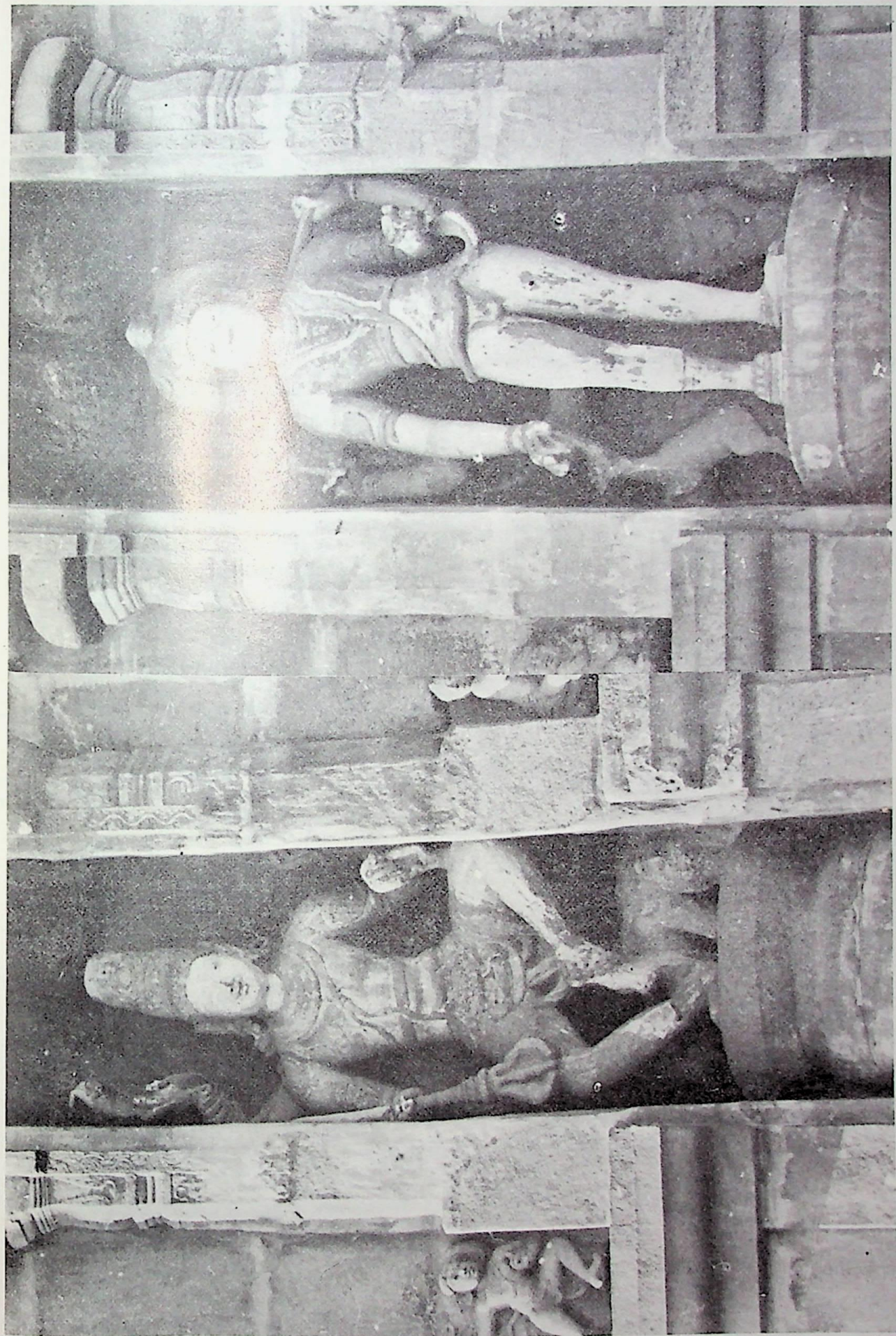
The wall of enclosure rises to a height of 9.14 metres and runs round the entire temple complex. Hugging the wall inside the enclosure is a long corridor, supported by two rows of pillars. It is in two storeys and rests on an upapīṭham. The storeys are demarcated by a cornice which is about 3.81 metres from the floor of the

1. SII, II, no. 31.

17A. Śiva-Umā Ālingina mūrti, (25), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

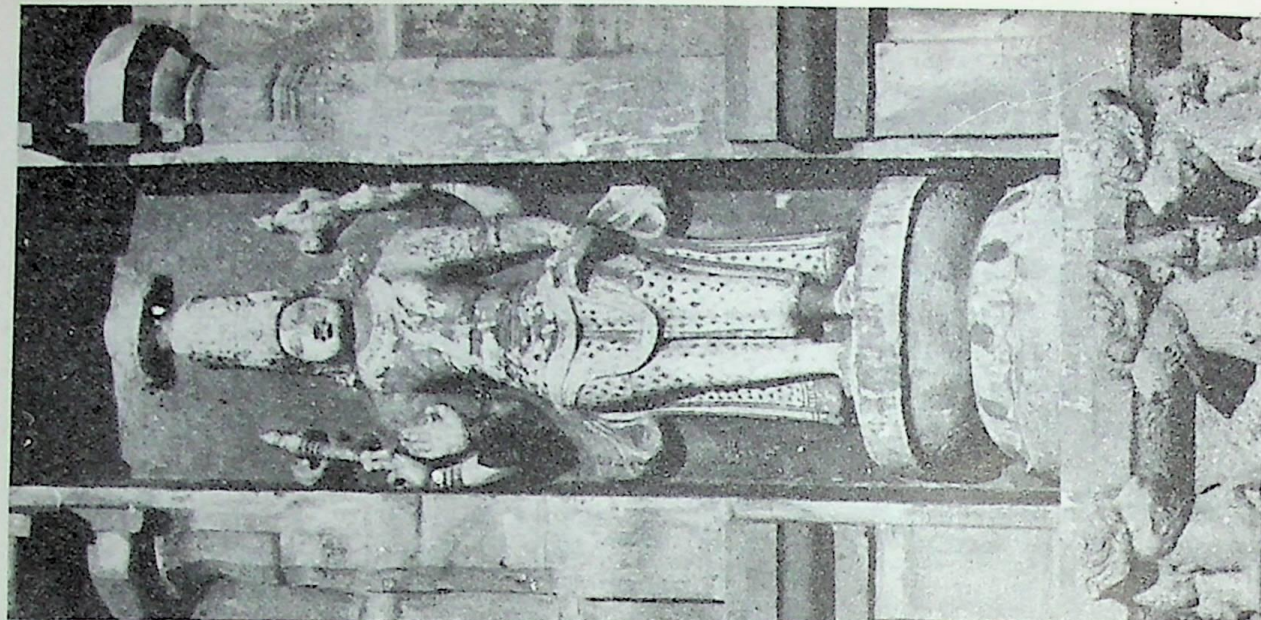
17B. Paśupatimurti (24), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

18A. Gangādhara (21), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

18B. Ardhanārīśvara (20), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

19A. Kālārimūrti (Kālāntaka) (12), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

19B Bhikshātana (7), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

20A. Lingōdbhava (15), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭ

20B. Chandraśēkhara (18), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

20C. Harihara (14), garbhagriha dēvakōshṭa

courtyard. Over the flat roof of the upper storey of this cloister, the wall of enclosure rises another 3.00 metres or so at the outer end. A large number of decorative nandis in stone are placed at intervals over its ridge. (See ill. 7A p. 41).

This tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai would appear to be the first instance of a double-storeyed colonnaded peristyle, of which we see examples in the later periods, as for instance, in the enclosure of the Amman shrine in the temple of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, attributable to the turn of the 11th century A.D. The Rājākkaḷ Tambirān tirumāḷigai, again of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram (belonging to the closing years of the 12th century—Kulōttunga III's period) is another fine example of a double-storeyed tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai of a later date.

Apart from the main entrance to the courtyard of the temple from the eastern side through the Rājarājan tiruvāśal, there are three other entrances of simple design opposite to the three openings on the outer walls of the garbhagriha on the north, west and south. Two are in the transceptal direction, while the third is along the axis of the temple where it bisects the Krishṇan Rāman wall at the back. Perhaps these entrances provided private access to the royal family for worship when the temple would be closed to the public. On the four corners of the rectangular compound wall and also in the middle of the three sides, there are seven shrines with decorative vimānas over them, relieving the monotony of the even wall running the full round of the temple. The vimānas are octagonal, square and round. The seven shrines were meant for seven of the eight Dikpālas *or* Guardian deities of the quarters. In the cell in the north-eastern corner, Īśāna dēvatā is housed. Sōma's cell is in the middle of the north wall of the cloister, while Varuṇa's is in the west. The rest of the sanctums are without any deities at present. We get confirmation of the existence of the Dikpālas from inscriptions on the eastern wall between Agni and Īśāna dēvatā shrines, which, according to the inscriptions here, are said to be located south and north of the Rājarājan tiruvāśal. There is also a reference to these eight shrines in an inscription dated in the third year of Rājēndra I. From this inscription, we get to know that for seven of the eight Dikpāla shrines, kalaśas (finials) were gifted, and

from the decipherable portions of the inscription, we are able to glean the other names, such as Nairutti, Agni, Yama and Varuṇa. The deities in the seven chambers must, therefore, be Agni in the south-east, Yama in the south, Nairutti in the south-west, Varuṇa in the west, Vāyu in the north-west, Sōma in the north and Īśāna in the north-east.[1] Indra who is the guardian deity of the eastern quarter does not enjoy a separate shrine for himself as the cardinal direction of east accommodates the inner gopuram, called the Rājarājan tiruvāśal. He has however been provided a shrine on the gōpuram itself on its western (inner) face to the north of the entrance.

Besides the eight shrines for the Dikpālas referred to, there must have been shrines of varying size and importance for the Ashṭa Parivara dēvatās, namely, Sūrya, Saptamātrikā, Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Jyēshṭā dēvi, Chandra, Chaṇḍēśvara and Bhairava. Of these, we have seen that the Chaṇḍēśvara shrine was built as an independent structure at the appropriate place. The Sūrya shrine is part of the inner gōpuram (Rājarājan tiruvāśal) in the form of a cell on the southern flank of the western face of the gōpuram, corresponding to the shrine of Indra, which is on the other (northern) flank of the same gōpuram. Of the rest, only vestiges are left. Adjoining the south-west corner shrine which housed the image of Dikpāla Nairutti, is another chamber of an unpretentious nature, where we now find a massive Gaṇēśa sculpture, described in the epigraphs as the Parivāra-ālayattup-Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār, to distinguish him from the Ālayattup-Piḷḷaiyār, the Piḷḷaiyār of the main temple. Of the Saptamātrikā group of images, the only vestige is a broken upper half of Vārāhi, now indifferently housed in a cement cubicle near the southern peristyle. The mukhamaṇḍapa has a sculpture of Bhairava loosely deposited, and this could be the original dēvatā in the north-eastern corner, adjoining the shrine of Īśāna. Neither is the icon of Subrahmaṇya in its proper place, nor is the one that is there, in all probability, the original. The Subrahmaṇya shrine built in the north-western part of the prākāra is a later contribution by the Nāyaks of Tanjāvūr in the 17th century. It

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1. The eight directions are: Pūrva, Āgnēya, Dakshiṇa, Nairutti, Paschima, Vāyavi, Uttara, Īśāni in the clockwise order starting from the east (See ill. 29A, 29B, p. 239).

is in the florid style and, though intrinsically great, is in dissonance with the architectural composition of the main temple. (See ill. 30B, p. 240).

Time and dynastic changes have wrought varying effects on the structural composition of South Indian temples. They fall broadly into four categories. There are those ancient temples of the Śangam age, built of brick and mortar, pulled down by later rulers and replaced by stone structures. Many such instances can be cited. In fact, almost all the present day temples which had been sung about by the Dēvāram saints are examples of this class where stone has replaced brick. A second class is where the temple was a small nucleus, dating back to the period of the 8th to 10th centuries, and sometimes even later, when the earlier structure was rebuilt of stone, or an altogether new monument was built. These structures gathered over the rolling decades and centuries accretions that led to peripheral and circumferential expansion, as in the case of the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam and many others, where the march of time is definitely determinable and the contribution over the ages can be broken down into its respective periods. Jouveau Dubreuil, the French Indologist in his Archaeologie du sud L' Inde quoted by Percy Brown[1], likens this process of circumferential expansion to the phenomenon of the growth and age of a tree being determinable by the number of concentric rings seen in the cross section of the trunk, each ring ringing out a year of growth. A third category is the instance of an original structure of modest dimensions, getting elbowed out of its central position and prominance by later peripheral structures that, in course of time, form a new tuber of growth and importance. The relegation of the mūlasthāna in the Naṭarāja temple to a secondary status, with the present Naṭarāja shrine gathering importance, is a case in point. And finally, there are the well-planned, grandly-conceived and broad-based temple complexes where there has been little scope for expansion outwards, either for want of space or because of the absence of need for more space. In such cases, new generations of royalty could add their contribution only within the available courtyards. An ideal example of this group of temples is Rājarājēśvaram where the die once cast

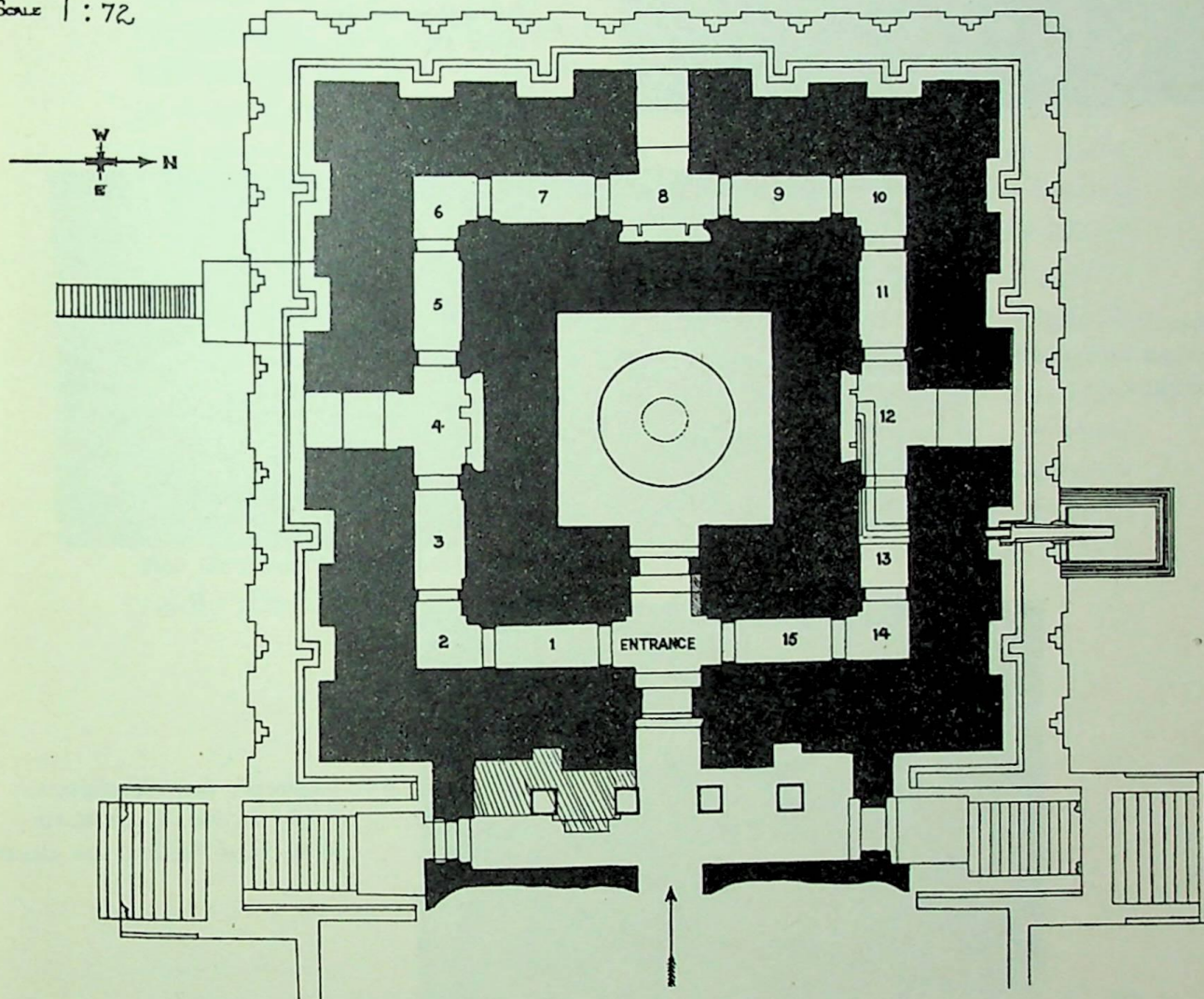
1. Indian Architecture, Percy Brown, p. 89.

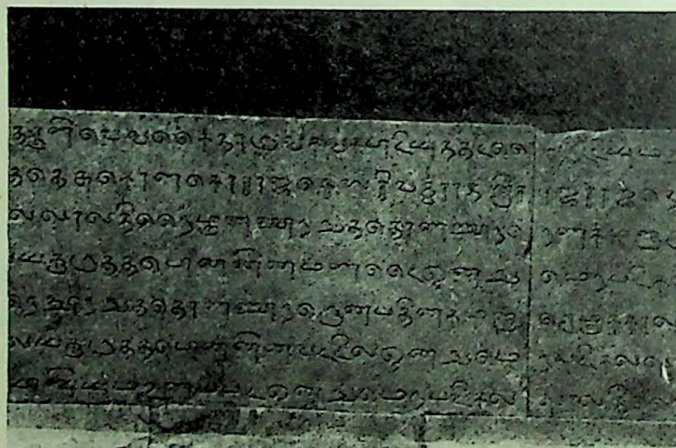
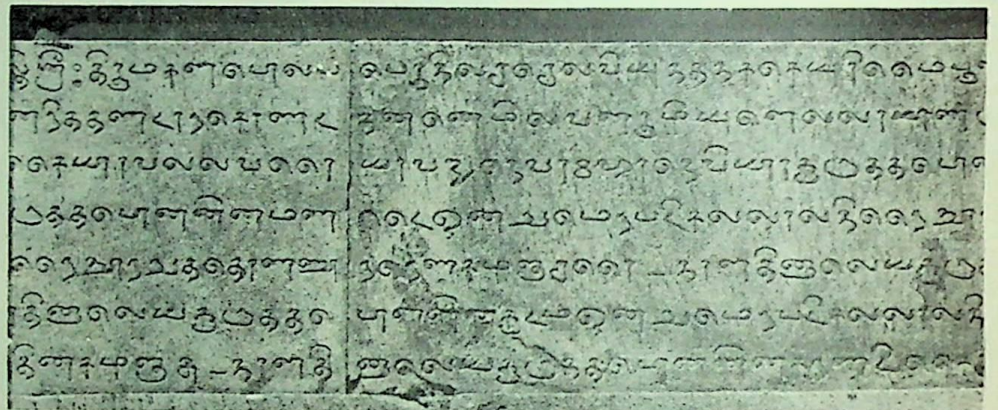
was cast for ever, and future embellishments had only to be internal. As in the case of the Tyāgaraja temple at Tiruvārūr which in a way belongs to this last group, this kind of internal growth in Tanjāvūr temple might have brought about a situation of chaos and complete disregard for aesthetics.[1] But fortunately, the relative neglect of the Tanjāvūr temple by successive rulers and the shifting importance of other secondary capitals where new and big edifices came to be erected was a blessing in disguise, for it left Tanjāvūr in a state of comparative pristineness. With the result, the structure we see today is not very different from what Rājarāja I had left behind, if some fringe accretions could be wiped off the plan for the nonce.

The Rājarājan blue-print had envisaged the temple as a constituent of the Royal palace. This gives strength to the speculation that Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār was a titular deity of the great conqueror. That he had girdled the temple with a moat and battlements adds weight to this impression. His religious preceptor and mentor Karuvūr Dēvar, in whose company Rājarāja has been depicted in this temple in stone as well as in murals, refers to the fortifications by describing Tanjāvūr as 'inji-śūḻ-tanjai' in his Tiruviśaippā.

The plan of the temple is a careful distribution of mass and height, depth and space and light and shade. The master plan was evidently adhered to in its minutest detail as seen from the uniform size of the nandis galore that dot the top of the wall of enclosure, as well as the top-most tier of the śrīvimāna. The uniformity in size of the leogryph and its rider through the entire length of the varimānam is a remarkable case of stone craftsmanship. The Rājarājan plan comprised the garbhagriha (śrīvimāna), the ardhamaṇḍapa, the mahāmaṇḍapa and the mukhamaṇḍapa, which form the central axial complex, the Chaṇḍēśvara shrine to the left, the Krishṇan Rāman wall with the Rājarājan gateway, the middle wall of enclosure with the Kēraḷāntakan tiruvāśal, and possibly an earlier wall of enclosure, later substituted or radically modified by the present wall of fortification strengthened by a moat. In the complex are included the shrines for the Dikpālas and the Ashṭaparivāra dēvatās, and also

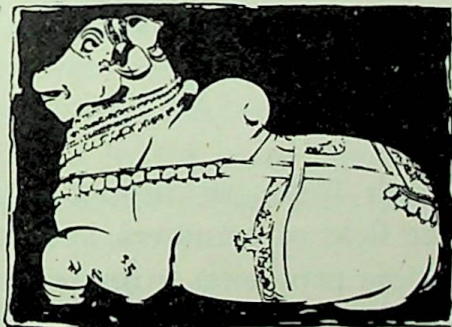
1. Early Chōḻa Temples, S.R. Bālasubrahmaṇyam, plan III, Plan of Tiruvarur temples.

1. TANJĀVŪR, RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM : GARBHAGRIHA-GROUND PLAN

A: *'Svasti Sri Vikrama Solan Tiruvasal–* inscription on the lower face of the lintel

B: Kundavai's gifts to images set up in the temple–

C: Rajaraja's main inscription, S.I.I., II, No. 2, on North Wall, First Section, are excerpt

the cells for the deities of whom we have unfortunately no information.

To sum up this phenomenon in temple art and architecture, one could do no better than quote from S.R. Balasubrahmanyam (Middle Chōḷa Temples, pp. 35–50):

"The Rājarājēśvaram is unique in many respects. It has a well conceived single unitary plan and its execution is perfect. Its plinth (upapīṭham and adhishṭhānam) is high and strong and has fine mouldings which give dignity and grandeur to the whole edifice. Stones of excellent texture have been brought from a long distance, and were properly dressed and raised by an artificial inclined plane to the required height. It is a rare feat considering the limited technology of the age in those days of comparatively primitive technological development. By the use of proper engineering skill, the downward thrust of the heavy stone superstructure is avoided. The linga is huge and is housed in a double storeyed garbhagriha supporting the upper part of the śrīvimāna. All the members of the structure are well proportioned and there is harmony in their assemblage. The steep upward sweep of the śrīvimāna 'resembling Śrī Mēru, with the needle like stūpi at the top seems to proclaim to the devotees the path to the feet of the Lord of the Universe'. It is really the 'Dēvālaya Chakravarti[1]' of Indian Temples."

1. The term *'Dēvālaya chakravarti'* has been used to describe the temple of Mahādēva at Iṭṭagi, a Chāḷukyan monument of the early 12th century, and means 'An Emperor among the Abodes of Gods'. Iṭṭagi is a small town in the Rāichūr Dōāb 35 km to the east of the Railway Station of Gadag of the South-Central Railway. It was built by Mahādēva, the Daṇḍanāyaka of Vikramāditya VI. He was a native of Iṭṭagi and the temple was erected in A.D. 1112. Close to it he also built a Vishṇu temple. One of the verses in the slab inscription dealing with the construction of these two temples describes the temple of Mahādēvēśvara as the Dēvālaya Chakravarti, a term so appropriate to Rājarāja I's great temple of Tanjāvūr.

4

Murals and Dance Panels

We have already seen that the needs of stability of a giant structure, like the Rājarājēśvaram, demanded a load-bearing top surface of a wall that could have been made either enormously thick or, in view of the massive plinth available divided into two sets of parallel walls, one running inside the other, with a continuous corridor or vestibule in between, an architectural device, aesthetically pleasing and structurally stable. The latter alternative followed here has been turned to great advantage by Rājarāja's sthapatis by making the mutually facing wall surfaces of the lower floor into rare delightful mural canvases that South India can be proud of, and by converting the inner surface of the upper level into a gallery of Bharatanāṭyam panels where there is an array of sequentially arranged karaṇas in high relief in stone.

PAINTINGS

Unfortunately, South India, as distinct from Western India, offers very little in the field of paintings, at least in respect of the period in question. Some profusion is noticed in the more recent centuries, but not during the Pāṇḍya, Chō̤ḷa and early Vijayanagar periods. Virtual extinction of secular buildings of this era has perhaps denied us a possible source of murals and carvings in wood, as well as in stone. (See Note 1 at p 367).

The vestibule on each free side of the garbhagriha is compartmentalised into five chambers, corresponding to the five bays on the outer side, resulting in two adjoining corridors meeting at right angles and sharing a common corner chamber. In the eastern side

where the entrance from the ardhamaṇḍapa to the garbhagriha intercepts the corridor, the central chamber gives place to the doorway. Thus, there are fifteen chambers in all in the ambulatory corridor. There is a constriction of the vestibule akin to a door frame with a threshold, corresponding to each recess of the outer wall. Engineering needs of structural stability have thus led to the chamber formation. The walls of these chambers, inclusive of the L-portions in the flanks, have been covered with paintings from floor to ceiling. The neglect in maintenance of the temple buildings since they had been last done up in the days of Sarfōji II at the turn of the 18th century, has resulted in fissures developing between the ashlers of the superstructure, leading in turn to seepage of rain water. This has done irreparable damage to the upper portions of the murals, while the lower and middle ones have fortunately escaped with negligible impairment. This has however a bright side to it, for at some point of history of this temple, the Nāyak rulers had covered the wall faces with excellent specimens of their paintings which, under the impact of the insidious seeping water, had worn thin, peeled off or disintegrated to reveal an inner layer of murals of an earlier day. The credit for the discovery of these paintings should go to Prof. S.K. Govindaswamy, who in the thirties, came upon these superb specimens, following the discovery and opening up of the vestibule which had till then remained closed.

Only some surfaces have so far been cleaned. The Department of Archaeology, however, has preserved the Nāyak paintings without further damage, while conserving the earlier layers wherever they have been exposed by the cruel hand of Nature. The Chōḻa paintings, so far exposed, are contained in the chambers mentioned below:

(i)	Chamber No. 5,	north wall	: Dakshiṇāmūrti
(ii)	Chamber No. 7,	east wall & jamb	: Sundaramūrti Nāyanār episode
(iii)	Chamber No. 9,	east wall & jambs	: Rājarāja & the three queens worshipping Naṭarāja
(iv)	Chamber No. 10,	inner jamb facing north	: Rājarāja I & Karuvūr Dēvar
(v)	Chamber No. 11,	south face	: Tripurāntaka

Of these paintings which date back to the days of Rājarāja I and are coeval with the temple itself, we may confine our observations to the more significant ones.

By far, the most complete and chronologically arranged is the thematic panel depicting the episodes in the life of the Tamil̤ Śaiva Saint Sundara Mūrti Nāyanār (Chamber No. 7).

Ālāḷa Sundarar, a devotee of Śiva in Kailāsa, while engaged in gathering flowers for offering to the Lord, fell in love with two heavenly damsels, Aninditā and Kamalini who had been engaged in a similar occupation in the same garden for Pārvati's pūjā. Annoyed at Sundarar's susceptibility to feminine charms, Śiva had sent him down to earth to experience carnal love, and with him the two damsels. The devotee thereupon pleaded that the Lord intervene and take him back before he was lost in worldly joys and thereby forgot Him. Born in an Ādi Śaiva family, as the son of Śivāchārya Śaḍaiyanār and his wife Iśai Jnāni, belonging to the village of Tirunāvalūr in the district of Tirumunaippāḍi (South Arcot district), Ālāḷa was named Nambi Ārūrar. One day the local chief Narasinga Munayadaraiyan, struck by the sprightliness of the young boy, sought and obtained his parents' permission to adopt him as his son. In course of time, his marriage with the daughter of Śaḍangavi Śivāchārya was arranged. At the marriage pandal, an old man suddenly appeared and created a commotion by claiming the bridegroom as his slave and offering to produce evidence for it. A wordy altercation took place in which the Nambi and the assembled brāhmaṇas protested that a brāhmaṇa could never be a slave. The old man produced a palm-leaf to prove that his (Nambi's) grandfather had executed a bond that he and all his progeny would be the slaves of the old man. When he saw the indisputable evidence in the palm-leaf document Nambi was enraged and, snatching it from the intruder's hands, tore it up. When the old man burst into tears at the loss of the palm-leaf, the assembled gentry advised the disputants to adjourn to Tiruveṇṇainallūr, to which place the old man claimed he belonged, and where, he further claimed, he had left the original copy of the torn-up document. The elders of Tiruveṇṇainallūr heard the case and, after due disputation, asked the old man to produce the original copy; which he did and which, to everyone's

amazement, confirmed his claim. The brāhmaṇas of Tiruveṇṇainal lūr, however, demanded of the claimant that he show them his house as the document mentioned Tiruveṇṇainallūr as the residential village of both the contending parties. Thereupon, he jestingly said that, if the learned of the village did not know his house, he would gladly show them. He proceeded to the local temple of Tiruvaruṭṭurai āḷvār and, having entered it, disappeared and, to the dismay of the waiting crowd, never came out. While they were thus lost in bewilderment, Lord Śiva, accompanied by Pārvati and riding his mount Nandi, appeared before them in all his effulgence and gave them his 'Darśana'. Addressing Nambi, He said, 'Ārūrā, were you not born on earth for your misdemeanour in Heaven? And, as promised, I have come to save you from being lost, 'unnaittaḍut-tāṭkoṇḍōm'. Hence the Lord of this temple came to be known as Taḍuttāṭkoṇḍa Nāyanār. The Lord won Sundarar over to a life of spiritual service. Singing a hymn to the local deity beginning with 'Pittā Piṛai Śūḍi', Sundarar started on his pilgrimage.

At Tiruvadigai Sundarar obtained the blessings of the Lord who is said to have placed His feet on the devotee's head. After prayers to the Lord of Vriddhāchalam, he obtained a gift of gold which he consigned to the river nearby. Having offered his prayers thereafter to Lord Naṭarāja at Chidambaram and to the Lord of Śīrkāḻi, Sundarar reached Tiruvārūr; and here he recovered the gold he had consigned to the river at Vriddhāchalam. At Tiruvārūr, he married Paravai Nāchchiyār at the Lord's bidding. Here he sang the Tirut-toṇḍat-togai, the earliest list of the Tamiḻ Nāyanārs, from the Dēvāśriyan Hall. At Tiruppugalūr the Lord is said to have changed to gold the humble bricks on which his devotee had slept. Sundarar used this gold for the celebration of the Chittirai festival of Tyāgarāja at Tiruvārūr.

Sundarar's pilgrimage took him to the temples of Toṇḍaināḍu and later to those of Tiruvōṟṟiyūr. Here he was wedded to Śangiliyār on the condition that he would never abandon her. But the urge to worship Tyāgēśa at Tiruvārūr would not be denied, and Sundarar soon forgot his promise to Śangiliyār, for which act he was punished with the loss of his eye-sight. Prayer to the Lord however gave him back his eye-sight, but Paravaiyār refused to forgive his

lapse. It was left to the Lord to play the role of peacemaker and bring back amity between the estranged parties.

Sundarar's peregrinations took him to Tiru-Kongu Nāḍu. Worshipping Śiva in a number of temples, he reached Tiru-Anjaikkaḷam ruled by Chēramān, the Chēra ruler, who was also a saint poet. Here, the two became friends. Laden with gifts from Chēramān, Sundarar returned to Tiruvārūr. Chēramān went on a pilgrimage, and after worshipping Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, reached Tiruvārūr where the two devotees met again. Together they then made a pilgrimage to Madurai (Tiru-Ālavoy) and also to the other Śiva temples spread over Pāṇḍyadēśa. They then parted to meet again. After a few years spent in the service of Tyāgarāja, Sundarar again proceeded to Kongu Nāḍu to see Chēramān Perumāḷ.

Together, the two saints offered their prayers to the Lord of Tiru-Anjaik-kaḷam. Sundarar had by now begun to feel that his days on this earth were coming to an end. He prayed to the Lord for release from the earthly bonds. Here he sang the latest of his hymns 'Talaikkuttalai-mālai-aṇinda-tēnay'. As he sang in ecstasy, it is believed that Lord Indra himself sent his elephant Airāvatam to take him to Kailāsa. As Sundarar began his journey to Kailāsa, Chēramān, unhappy about being left behind, mounted his horse, and whispering the famous holy mantra 'Panchākshara' in his horse's ears, began his ascent also to Kailāsa. The two devotees met again at the gates of Kailāsa. The spectacle of Śiva in procession with his gaṇas at Kailāsa, is said to have thrown Chēramān into a spiritual rapture, when he sang the famous hymn 'Tiru-kailāsa-jnāna-ulā'. This scene is believed to have been expounded in a discourse by Varuṇa to the devotees of Śiva at Tiruvanjaik-kaḷam and by Śāstā or Aiyanār at Tiruppaṭṭūr.[1] (See ills. 26A, 26B, p. 164).

The murals at Rājarājēśvaram describe vividly the last journey of Sundarar and Chēramān Perumāḷ to Kailāsa. This event is likely to have happened about A.D. 825.

Among the four famous Śaiva Saints of Tamiḻ Nāḍu, Sundarar's life is scintillant. His life on earth was full of events which consti-

1. The City of the Cosmic Dance—Chidambaram by B. Natarajan, pp. 127–130 and Middle Chōḻa Temples, by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, Chapter 4, sec. 58 on Tiruppiḍavūr.

tuted, over the centuries, the ever-recurring theme in stone and metal, and also in painting, as in Rājarājēśvaram. Rājarāja I, whose contribution to Tamil literature is incomparable in that he recovered the Dēvāram cadjan leaves lost for over three centuries, understandably devoted a great deal of effort to the propagation of the Dēvāram hymns.

The entire wall surface of Chamber No. 7 from floor to ceiling is dedicated to the events in Sundarar's life. The surface is horizontally divided into three equal canvases, each dealing with an aspect of this theme. The lowest panel depicts the marriage scene and the arrival of the old man. The middle one shows Sundarar riding Airāvata to Kailāsa followed by Chēramān on horseback, and the upper one represents the scene in heaven when both Sundarar and Chēramān arrive.

(i) The marriage scene is characterized by deep insight into details. The kitchen scene, for example, with its oven, firewood and cauldron is realistic. Śiva in the guise of the old man is aggressive and angry, confidently flaunting a palm leaf as documentary proof. While he fusses over his rights over the brahmanical slave, a frightened and perhaps somewhat sullen Sundarar is cowed down before him. Consternation is writ large on the face of the guests at the unexpected turn of events.

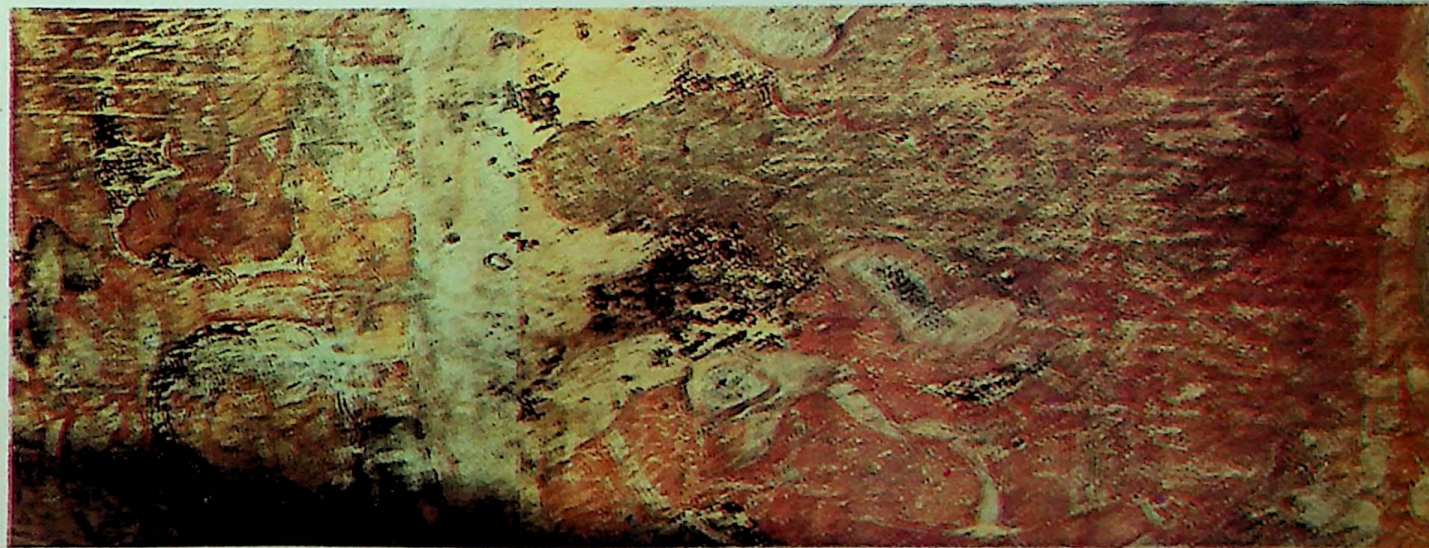
(ii) As we move up the canvas, the scene shifts, years later to Tiruvanjaikkaḷam. The divine white elephant is shown in a state of motion with trunk extended, with trappings and decorative covering over the head and the body, lending vitality to the portrayal. Its divinity is underlined by the uncommon tusks which at their sharp ends trifurcate. Which is why Airāvata is also called shaḍ-danta (the six-tusked). Chēramān, sporting a beard and moustache and hair gathered into a side-knot, wears ornaments like ēkāvaḷi, pearl hāra, armlets, anklets and girdle. His horse, inspired by the divine letters whispered into his ears, acquires supernatural powers and gallops through space to Kailāsa, which is shown symbolically by the involuted cloud designs all along the lower fringe of the panel. The outlines of the saddlery are well preserved with all its details still discernible. Dancing damsels and divine drummers, shown floating as it were over a crowd of heavenly spectators, welcome at the gates

of Kailāsa, the returning prodigal, chastened by the expulsion and the earthly experience. We can identify specific karaṇas of bharata-nāṭyam in the two female figures. The canvas moves sequentially from left (of the viewer) to right. At the left, close to the framing jamb, Chēramān is worshipping Śiva in the form of a lingam, evidently in the temple of Vanji (i.e. Tiruvanjaikkaḷam), the then capital of the Chēras. Apparently, he is yet to hear of Sundarar's journey to Kailāsa. Moving right, the theme develops, and Chēramān is on horseback, on the move trying to catch up with his friend. (iii) In the upper layer, symbolically corresponding to Heaven, is the scene of Śiva in Kailāsa, which is a representation of the celestial procession, as narrated in Chēramān Perumāḷ's Gnāna Ulā. Both he and Pārvati are witnessing a dance in their heavenly abode. The dancing maidens and the accompanying instrumentalists present a spectacle of merry-making and joy. Nandi is in his usual place; the dēvas and the gaṇas, the kinnaras and the kimpurushas crowd round the Lord. On the extreme right end of the panel can be seen a hunting couple in their forest attire. The panel brings the sequence to an end with the absorption in the Ultimate of Saint Sundarar and his devoted friend Chēramān. (See ill. 9A, p. 125).

TRIPURĀNTAKA

A gigantic representation of the destruction of the Tripura-asuras is found on the southern face of Chamber No 11. While dealing with the metallic icon of Naṭarāja in the sabhā maṇḍapa[1], we will have occasion to go into the anthropomorphic forms given to him in sculptural representation as a destroyer of the malevolent and the protector and preserver of the supplicant. Again Śiva in his many facets is an endless theme for sculptural and mural representation. Such forms are Śiva as a yōgi and philosopher, Vyākhyāna Dakshiṇāmūrti; as a great master of music and the arts, Vīṇādhara Dakshiṇāmūrti and so forth; as the Lord of Dance, he is of course Naṭarāja.

In the murals in Rājarājēśvaram, the iconographic concepts have

1. See Chapter V (pp. 158–162).

9A. Mural paintings in the vest. ... scene

9B. Naṭarāja (mural)

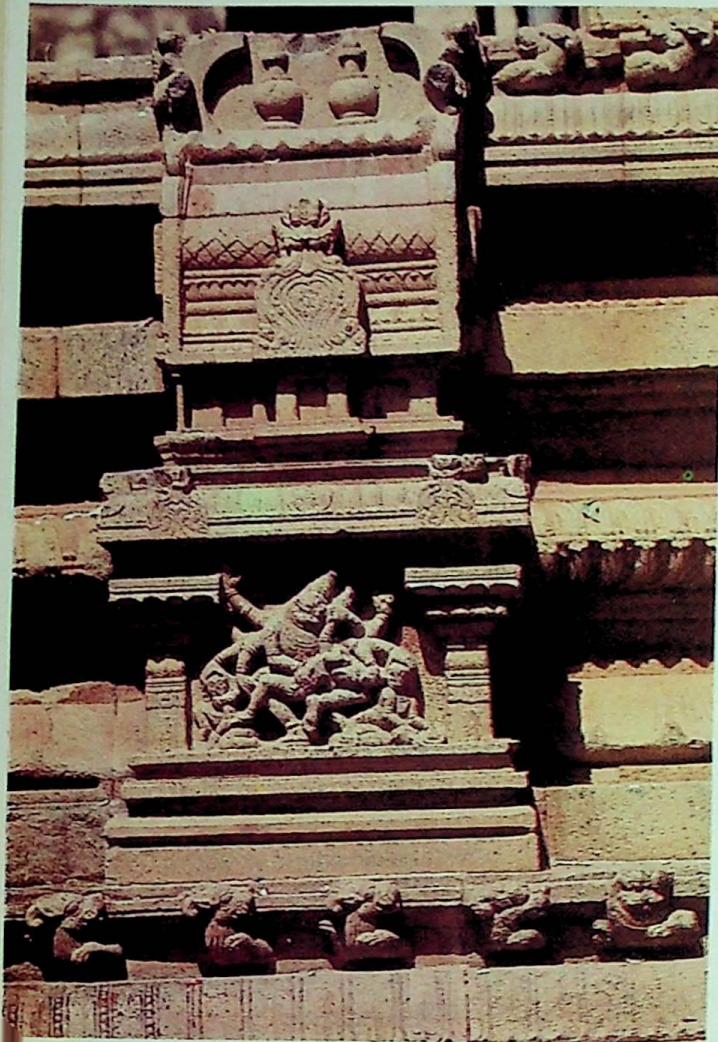
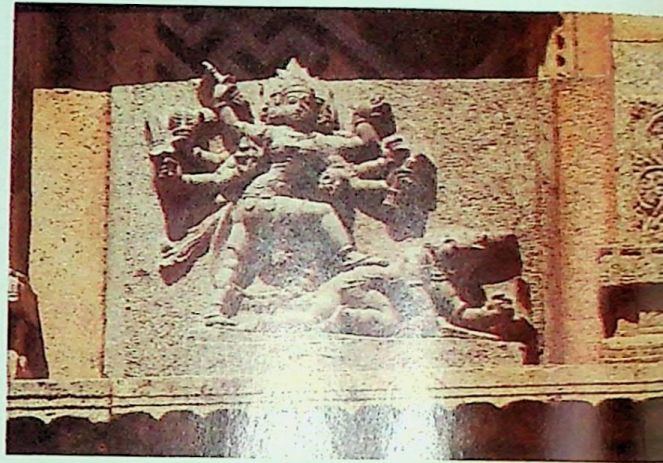
9C. Rājarāja and his queens worshipping Naṭarāja (mural)

10A. Śiva as Tripurāntaka on chariot, driven by Brahmā (mural)

10B. The Tripura Asuras (mural)

11A. Rājarāja I (mural)

11B. Rājarāja and Karuvūr Dēvar (mural)

11C. Tripurantāka (Śiva in fierce mein) (mural)

A.

D.

C.

12A to D.

Miniature panels in the main and subsidiary shrines (central) shrine and the Subrahmaṇya shrine)

been translated into brush-strokes of infinite charm. Two fine specimens are found among them; Tripurāntaka in chamber No. 11 occupying the entire height and width of the inner wall, and Dakshiṇāmūrti in the yogic role set in sylvan surroundings on the inner wall surface in chamber No 5.

Tripurāntaka, described almost in all the Āgamic treatises, has as many as eight prescribed features for iconic representation. He is variously depicted as having anything between two to eight arms, as either standing in the samabhanga or the atibhanga posture (i.e. from no flexion of the body to multi-flexions), or seated in the Sukhāsana style. Here Śiva, as Tripurāntaka, is shown riding a chariot driven by Brahmā, and the wheels of the chariot are provided by Chandra and Sūrya who are shaped as such. Kārtikēya is riding the peacock and Gaṇēśa is on his mouse, both accompanying their fierce-meined father on his mission of destruction of the three evil asuras. Tripurāntaka on the chariot occupies a greater part of the painted surface. He stands in the ālīḍha pose, as becomes a warrior, and his eight swinging arms are seen either holding weapons of war or in the stance of imminent action, as depicted by a drawn bow with the shield held by a couple of arms; a third arm swung across the chest in the gajahasta style and a fourth engaged in pulling an arrow out of the quiver, with a spare quiver kept on the chariot. Harassed by the three asuras, Vidyānmali, Tārakāksha and Kamalāksha, sons of Tārakāsura, against whose impregnable fort even Indra's vajra had been of no avail, the dēvas approached Brahmā who in turn sought Śiva's help. Śiva, assuming his powerful form, had Vishnu for his arrow, Agni for its barb and Yama for its feather. The Vēdas were the bow and Śāvitri the bow string. Śiva ultimately destroyed the three castles of the enemy with three barbed arrows.[1] The angry asuras and their gaṇas are shown in different moods—rage and defiance, hauteur and impudence, doubt and dismay, rout and demoralisation. In contrast, the dēvagaṇas are in a mood of rejoicing at the prospect of the evil being destroyed; and there is an unmistakable wonderment at the boundless might of Śiva. (See ills. 10A, 10B, 11C, pp. 126, 127).

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1. Mahābhārata Karṇaparva, Amśumadbhēdāgama, Hindu Iconography, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, p. 164–171.

This excellent example of Rājarājan painting is in a good state of preservation.

Opposite this face (north face of chamber No. 11) is a much obliterated, peeled off, yet impressive depiction of the humbling of Rāvaṇa by Śiva. Śiva is sporting with his Consort Pārvati on the Kailāsa mountain. Rāvaṇa is enraged and frustrated on being told by Śiva's loyal attendant and guardian Nandikēśa that Mahādēva (Śiva) will brook no disturbance while he is with Pārvati, and so he attempts to uproot Mount Kailāsa itself. A frightened Pārvati and the dēvagaṇas add realism to the scene; the dramatic impact of which is heightened by a snake, one of the many adorning the body of Śiva, slipping down to the foot of the trembling mountain. Śiva humbles the pride of Rāvaṇa by pressing him down under the mountain with his toe. After carrying the burden of the mountain for a thousand years, during which he seeks Śiva's pardon by reciting hymns from the Sāma Vēda, Rāvaṇa is forced to a realization of his inferior position in relation to the Lord. Śiva however, bestows grace upon him and in this form he is known as Rāvaṇa-anugraha-mūrti. The benign face of Śiva seems to exude self-assurance. This panel might have been as fine a specimen of Rājarājan paintings as the Tripurāntaka one but for the irretrievable damage that parts of the painting have suffered in the wear and tear of time and neglect.

We may skip the oft described, but nonetheless exquisite, specimens of Chōḷa paintings of this period with a mere mention of them—the panel of Dakshiṇāmūrti and the delightful representation of the forest scene in Chamber No. 5; and the panel of Rājarāja I and his three main queens, possibly including Danti Śakti Viṭanki paying homage to Lord Naṭarāja in the Chitsabhā at Chidambaram.

Naṭarāja's radiance is conveyed by the size of his figure that spills beyond the outlines of the Chitsabhā. Incidentally, we are able to gather an idea of the structural details of the Kanaka-sabhā from where the king and his queens offer prayer to Naṭarāja in the Chitsabhā at Chidambaram. Even before the massive construction was undertaken in the period of Kulōttunga I, the Chit-sabhā seems to have been of the same shape as it is now. Finally there are the rare

and well preserved paintings of Rājarāja I and his guru, Karuvūr Dēvar, shown in more than one place, in the Dakshiṇāmūrti panel and again on the jambs of chamber No. 10. (See 9B, 9C, 11A, 11B, pp. 125, 127).

The other chambers have Nāyak paintings on them, which, though excellent specimens of their period, do not concern us here.

DANCE PANELS

Moving up to the first storey of the vestibule round the garbhagriha, we come upon the first ever authentic representation of the dance units or karaṇas, described in Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. As briefly mentioned earlier, the lower portion of the inner wall of the garbhagriha has been converted into a Bharatanāṭya gallery, where all the karaṇas barring the last few, 81 out of a total of 108, have been carved in high relief in stone. In the absence of any depiction in stone of this dance form earlier than at Rājarājēśvaram, this lithic canvas marks the first known plastic representation of the nāṭya karaṇas anywere in India. The karaṇas run as a ribbon round the outer face of the inner wall at eye level in one continuous order, commencing with the taḷa-pushpa-puṭa karaṇa from the southern wing of the eastern face of the wall. They move on to the southern wall and then to the northern through the western wall. Beyond the middle of the northern wall, towards its eastern wing, the panels abruptly stop, for no known reason, with the 81st karaṇa, sarpitam. This type of sculptural representation sets the precedent for a general practice that came into vogue in a big way in the 12th century in particular, and in general thereafter, where the karaṇas were carved on the flank of the upapīṭham portion of the tiruch-churru-māḷigai, as in the Amman shrine of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram, or on the mutually facing vertical walls of the passage way of all the four gopurams as in the same temple at Chidambaram, or in the Sōmalingaswāmi temple at Paḷaiyarai, or again on the main gōpuram, as in the Śārangapāṇi temple at Kumbakōṇam. Except in the Amman temple and in the Śārangapā-ṇi temple, in all other cases, the karaṇas are carved in bold relief in box panels strung together in vertical columns, running parallel to one another on either side of the monolithic jambs of the gōpurams.

Śiva as a master of Dancing has been an inexhaustible source for sculptural representation. Whether he dances, clad in ashes, on the burial ground or in Heaven, in the cosmic context to the delight of the dēvas and dēvatas, kinnaras and kimpurushas, Śiva exhibits a variety of eurythmic combinations. The one hundred and eight karaṇas described in the Nāṭya Śāstra are found reflected in an identical number of moods mentioned in the Śivāgamas. In the case of the panels in the western gōpuram of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram, the relevant verse of the Nāṭya Śāstra relating to and defining the karaṇa, is inscribed below the corresponding panel, thus indisputably establishing a lithic text book, as it were, on Bharatañaṭyam. The vestibule panels of the garbhagriha in the Rājarājēśvaram temple at Tanjāvūr, however, content themselves with a faithful sequential arrangement of the karaṇas, enabling us to establish their identity without doubt.

A comprehensive description of the karaṇa panels would constitute a treatise in itself. However, a few examples of karaṇas and what they stand for would not be out of place. No conclusive dating of Bharata Muni's unique compilation of the performing arts has so far been made. Our concern, however, is not with its date but with its content and a certain chapter of it at that. The Nāṭya Śāstra is certainly recognised as the earliest treatise on Dance. In fact it is more than a treatise on dance; it deals comprehensively and authentically with all performing arts and other cognate subjects, spread over thirty-six chapters.

The fourth chapter entitled Tāṇḍava Lakshaṇam is concerned with the grammar of the art of dancing. The basic element of the dance form as propounded by Bharata is the karaṇa—a complex concept but best explained as a unit of dance formed by the coordination of body posture, hand gestures and leg movements.[1] The varied sequences of karaṇas are known as the angahāra and, emerging from the combination of various angahāras, are the rēchakas (these are dealt with in detail in the same chapter of the Nāṭya Śāstra). The Nāṭya Śāstra defines 108 different karaṇas. These karaṇas have been frozen into lithic sculptures at Tanjāvūr,

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1. The aḍavus of Bharata Nāṭyam of South India are like the karaṇas, composed of the three elements.

Kumbakōṇam, Chidambaram, Paḻayarai and many other places. The earliest sculptural representations of the karaṇas are, however, found in the Rājarājēśvaram temple, as mentioned earlier. These karaṇas are not labelled but are readily identifiable. The Chidambaram (gōpuram) panels are an improvement on the Rājarājēśvaram ones, in that the entire verse defining the karaṇa is inscribed below each panel. But where the panels at Tanjāvūr score over those at Chidambaram is, as mentioned earlier, in the sequence in which they have been carved, meticulously following the order in the Nāṭya Śāstra. These karaṇas are enumerated below:

1) Talapushpapuṭam
2) Vartitam
3) Valitōrukam
4) Apaviddham
5) Samanakham
6) Leenam
7) Svastika-rēchitam
8) Maṇḍala-svastikam
9) Nikuṭṭakam
10) Ardha-nikuṭṭakam
11) Kaṭich-chhinnam
12) Ardha-rēchitam
13) Vakshas-svastikam
14) Unmattam
15) Svastikam
16) Prishṭha-svastikam
17) Dik-svastikam
18) Alātakam
19) Kaṭī-samam
20) Ākshipta-rēchitam
21) Vikshiptākshiptakam
22) Ardha-svastikam
23) Anchitam
24) Bhujanga-trāsitam
25) Ūrdhva-jānu
26) Nikunchitam
27) Mattalli
28) Ardha-mattalli
29) Rēchita-nikuṭṭitam
30) Padāpaviddhakam
31) Valitam
32) Ghūrṇitam
33) Lalitam
34) Daṇḍa-paksham
35) Bhujanga-trasta-rēchitam
36) Nūpuram
37) Vaiśākha-rēchitam
38) Bhramarakam
39) Chaturam
40) Bhujangānchitakam
41) Daṇḍaka-rēchitam
42) Vriśchika-kuṭṭitam
43) Kaṭi-bhrāntam
44) Latā-vriśchikam
45) Chhinnam
46) Vriśchika-rēchitam
47) Vriśchikam
48) Vyamsitam
49) Pārśva-nikuṭṭitam
50) Lalāṭa-tilakam
51) Krāntakam
52) Kunchitam

53) Chakra-maṇḍalam
54) Uro-maṇḍalam
55) Ākshiptam
56) Tala-vilāsitam
57) Argalam
58) Vikshiptam
59) Āvarttam
60) Ḍōlā-pādam
61) Vivrittam
62) Vinivrittam
63) Pārśva-krāntam
64) Nis-stambhitam
65) Vidyud-bhrāntam
66) Ati-krāntam
67) Vivartitakam
68) Gaja-krīḍitakam
69) Tala-samsphōṭitam
70) Garuḍa-plutakam
71) Gaṇḍa-sūchī
72) Parivrittam
73) Pārśva-jānu
74) Gridhrāvalīnakam
75) Sannatam
76) Sūchī
77) Ardha-Sūchī
78) Sūchī-viddham
79) Apakrāntam
80) Mayūra-lalitam
81) Sarpitam
82) Daṇḍa-pādam
83) Hariṇa-plutam
84) Prēnkhōlitam
85) Nitambam
86) Skhalitam
87) Kara-hastakam
88) Prasarpitakam
89) Simha-vikrīṭitam
90) Simhākarshitakam
91) Udvrittam
92) Upasritakam
93) Tala-sanghaṭṭitam
94) Janitam
95) Avahitthakam
96) Nivēśam
97) Ēlakā-krīḍitam
98) Ūrūd-vrittam
99) Madaskhalitam
100) Vishṇu-krāntam
101) Sambhrāntam
102) Vishkambham
103) Udghaṭṭitam
104) Vrishabha-krīḍitam
105) Lōlitam
106) Nāgāpaśarpitam
107) Śakaṭāsyam
108) Gangāvataraṇam

As mentioned earlier, only eighty-one of these 108 karaṇas find place in the Rājarājēśvaram temple. The remaining twenty-seven karaṇas were evidently intended to be carved, for there still remain the required number of blank blocks which complete the circuit round the vestibule. (See ills. 13, 14, 15 and 16 at pp. 137 to 140).

It would suffice if some of the karaṇas could be amplified and studied with references to the relevant stanzas from Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, further annotated in the light of the commentaries.

1. The first panel found in the series on the eastern wall of the corridor corresponds to the first karaṇa in the Nāṭya Śāstra viz. Talapushpapuṭa. We quote below the ślōka[1] from the Nāṭya Śāstra:

1 वामे पुष्पपुट : कार्य : पार्श्वेपादोग्रतलसंचर : ।
तथा च सन्नतं पाश्र्वं तलपुष्पपुटं भवेत्[2] ।।

Translated this means, on the left side, the hands are joined in the Pushpa-puṭa posture; the feet are placed in the Agratala sanchara and finally, the side (pārśva) is in the Sannatam stance.

(i) This definition brings in three technical expressions whose meaning and significance have to be gleaned from other parts of the Nāṭya Śāstra. The term pushpa puṭa finds its definition in the following ślōka:

2 यस्तु सर्पशिरोप्रोत्त यस्यांगुळिनिरन्तर : ।
द्वितीय पाश्र्व संश्लिष्ट स तु पुष्पपुटस्मृत : ।।

This would mean that Pushpa-puṭa hand is one in which two Sarpa-śira palms (i.e. palms held with fingers close to one another, without any interspace) are placed tightly together and are held to one side of the body (torso). The term sarpa śira is clarified by Bharata Muni in this ślōka:

3 अंगुल्या : संहृता : सर्वा : सहांगुष्टकेन यस्य तत् ।
तथा निम्न तलश्चैव ततु सर्पशिरा : कर : ।।

Which means: all the fingers, including the thumb, are held together; the palm is contracted to a hollow. The fingers and the palm held in this posture produce the image of the hood of a snake, and hence the term sarpa (snake) śira (head).

(ii) The second technical term used in the definition of the karaṇa is Agra-tala sanchara. This aspect deals with the movement and stance of the legs. We get to know the meaning of this

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1. Transliteration of all the Sanskrit ślōkas quoted in this section may be seen at Appendix 28 (pp. 365-6).
2. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. IV, Ślōka 61–62.

term from the following ślōka in the Nāṭya Śāstra:

4 उत्क्षिप्रस्तु भवेत् पार्ष्णि प्रसूतो अंगुष्टकस्तथा ।
अंगुल्यां चितास्सर्वा पादोग्रतलसंचर : ।।

Translated this means: the heels are lifted up, the feet rest on the toes, the big toe being held apart, and the other toes bent; this stance of the legs is known as agra-tala-sanchara. It may be relevant to mention that there are six kinds of leg movement which find mention and are defined in the Nāṭya Śāstra, as below:

5 उद्घट्टितं समं चैव तथा अग्रतलसंचर : ।
अंचित : कुंचित : सूचिपादं षोढा : प्रकीर्तिता : ।।

These six movements are: Udghaṭṭitam, Samam, agratala-sancharam, anchitam, kunchitam and sūchipādam.

(iii) The third technical term found in the definition of the first karaṇa is 'Sannatam Pārśvam'—delineating a posture of the side (torso). Bharata codifies various pārśva (or side) movements in the Nāṭya Śāstra, in the following sloka:

6 नातं समुन्नतं चैव प्रसारित विवर्तित : ।
तथापसृतमेवस्तु पाश्र्वयो कर्म पंचधा : ।।

These side movements are five in number, viz. Natam, Samun-natam, Prasāritam, Vivartitam and Apasritam.

Each of these movements is described in the Nāṭya Śāstra, but we may quote below only the definition of Samunnatam, referred to in the definition of the first karaṇa:

7 कठिर्भवेत्त व्याभुग्ना पाश्र्वभाभुग्नमेवच ।
तथैवापृथांसश्च किंचित् पाश्र्व नतं स्मृतम् ।।

This means: Waist slightly bent, the side (of the body) also slightly bent, one shoulder bent and depressed sideways.

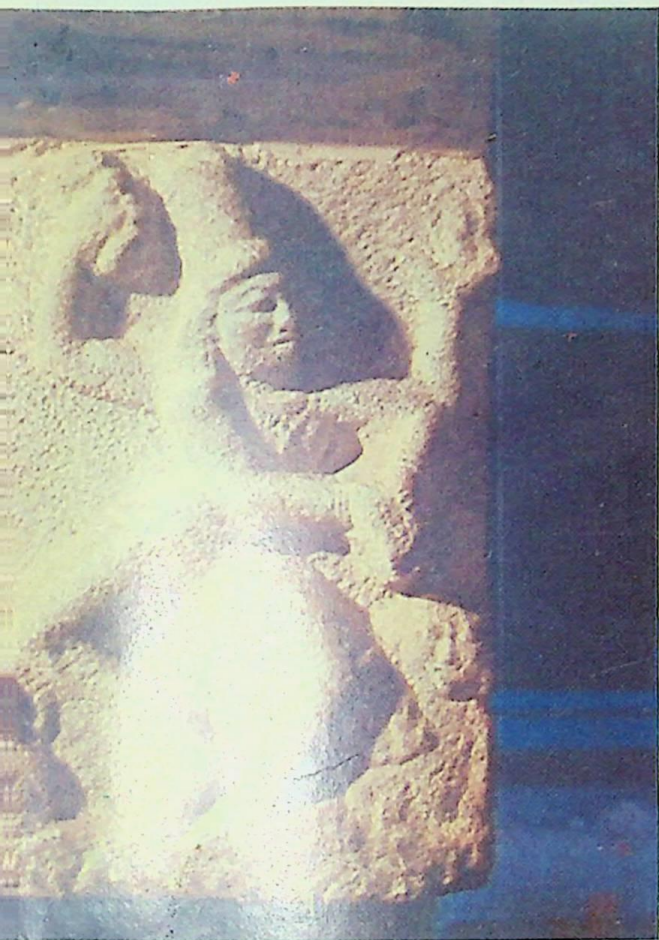
The integral movements and postures of (i) hands, (ii) legs and feet and (iii) body and hip, described respectively as (i) Pushpa-

A.

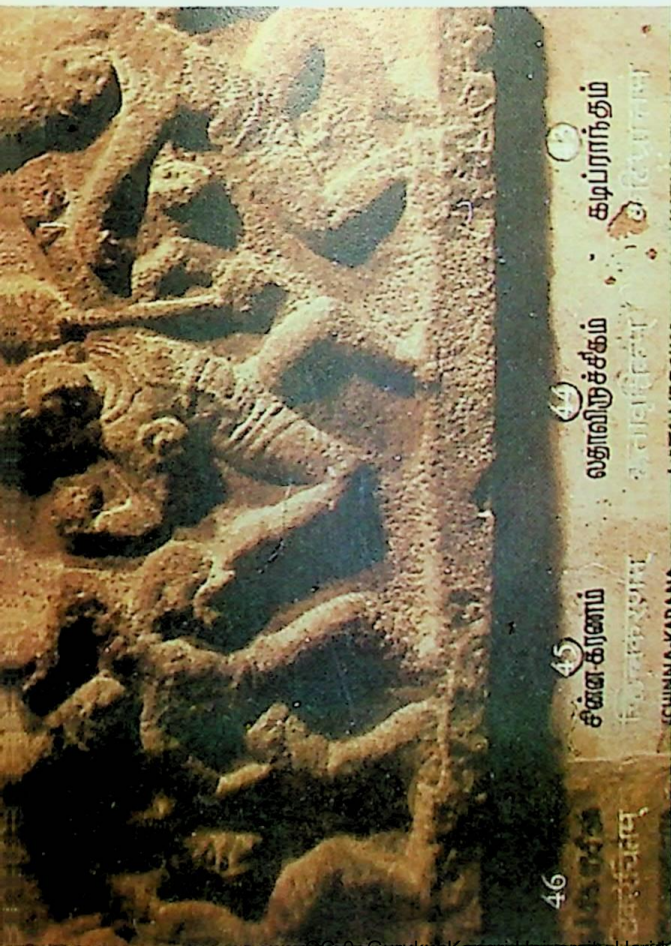
B.

C.

D.

13A,B,C and D Bharatanāṭya karaṇas (1,2,3 and 4)

14A,B,C,D and E Bharatanāṭya karaṇas (9,10,11,12, and 13)

14 (ε) Bharatanâtya karanas

15A,B,C and D Bharatanātya karaṇas
(17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28 and 29)

16A,B,C,D,E,F and G Bharatanāṭya karaṇas
(35,36,43,44,45,46,49,50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,59,60,61,72,73 and 74)

Bharatanāṭya karaṇas
16 E,F and G

puṭa, (ii) Agra-talasanchara and (iii) Sannatam constitute the karaṇa known as tala-pushpa-puṭam, the first in the series of 108 karaṇas.

This description is faithfully represented in the sculpture, the first in the series found on the eastern wall of the corridor.

2. We may take up another karaṇa, viz. Apaviddha which is the fourth in the series. The Nāṭya Śāstra verse for this karana is:

8 अकृत्थ शुकतुण्डाख्यं ऊरु पृष्टे निपातयेत् ।
वामहस्तश्च वक्षस्थोऽप्यपविद्धं तु तद्भवेत् ।।

It means: the right hand is held in the śuka-tuṇḍa posture and falls (or rests) over the right thigh and the left hand is held over the chest.

The śuka-tuṇḍa posture or gesture is described in the following verse:

9 अराळस्य यदा वक्रानामित्वंगुलिर्भवेत् ।
शुकतुण्डस्तु तत्कर: कर्मचास्यालिभोधत[1] ।।

The hand is said to be held in the śuka-tuṇḍa pose, when the third finger is bent in the hand formed in the arāḷa pose. And the arāḷa pose gets defined in another verse of the Nāṭya Śāstra:

10 आद्याधनुर्नतकार्या कुञ्जितांगुष्टकस्तथा ।
शेषोभिन्नोघ्ववलिता ह्यराळांगुळय: करे[2] ।।

The arāḷa hand is formed when the fore-finger is bent like a bow; the thumb is held curved and the remaining fingers, held together, are separated from the thumb and the forefinger.

Thus in the apaviddha karaṇa, the right hand falls alongside the torso and rests on the thigh, and the left hand is held over the chest. In the Rājarājēśvaram representation of this karaṇa, the artistic addition of a veena is introduced to link the two hands and thus add charm to the stance.

1. Nāṭya Śastra, Ch. 9, Ślōka 49
2. Nāṭya Śastra, Ch. 9, Ślōka 42

3. A third illustrative karaṇa which we may take up is Kaṭich-chhinna, the eleventh in the series. The sculptural representation finds place in the Rājarājēśvaram sequence at the beginning of the southern corridor (near the south-eastern corner).

The relevant ślōka, defining the karaṇa is:

11 पर्यायश : कटिच्छिन्ना बाह्वो : शिरसि पल्लवौ ।
पुनः पुनश्च करणं कटिच्छिन्नं तु तत्भवेत् [1] ।।

Kaṭich-chhinna is formed when the hip is in a rotatory motion or in a state of gyration (kaṭi i.e. hip in chhinna movement) and the hands, with palms in the Pallava pose, are repeatedly brought over the head.

Elsewhere in the Nāṭya Śāstra we get the definition of chhinna of kaṭi.

12. कटिमध्यस्य वलनाच्छिन्ना संप्रकीर्तिता[2] ।

'the central part of the hip moved in a circular fashion is known as Kaṭich-chhinna'.

It may be interesting to note in passing the other types of movement of the hip defined in the Nāṭya Śāstra viz, Rēchita, Nivritta, Udvāhita and Prakampita. This is contained in the following ślōka:

13 छिन्नाचैव निवृत्ताय रेचिता कंपिता तथा ।
उद्वाहिता चेति कटीनाट्ये नृत्ते च पञ्चधा[3] ।।

Coming to the hand movement, a description of the Pallava hand, referred to in the karaṇa ślōka, is found in the ślōka:

14 मणिबन्धनमुक्तौ तु पताकौ पल्लवौ स्मृतौ[4] ।

1. Naṭya Śastra, Ch. 4, Śloka 71–72.
2. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, Ślōka 234 (latter half).
3. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, ślōka 233–34.
4. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, ślōka 188 (first half).

Pallava means that the palms in the patāka pose are held together at the wrist and taken apart.

In the background of the definition of kaṭichhinna the sculptural representation seems somewhat irreconcilable, but the final verdict on the karaṇa is contained in a clinching verse from Sangeeta Sudhākara by Haripāla Dēya, the Gūrjara-Chāḷukya prince of the 9th century A.D.

15 असकृत्पल्लवौ हस्तौ अंशदेशनिवेशितौ ।
वेल्लितौ च कटिर्यत्र कट्रिच्छिन्नं तु तत्भवेत् ।।

From the first half of the verse, we find that the Pallava hands are repeatedly (asakrit) placed (nivēśita) over the shoulders (amśa-dēśa), thus completely tallying with the iconic representation, which thus can be taken to be true to definition.

Chhinna movement is associated with (i.e. to indicate) exercise (vyāyāma), hurry or state of puzzlement (sambhrānta) and looking around (vyāvrittaprēkshaṇa), vide the ślōka in Nāṭya Śāstra below:

16 छिन्ना व्यायाम संभ्रान्त व्यावृत्तपेक्षणादिषु[1] ।

Śārnga dēva, in his Sangeeta Ratnākara, has, while dealing with karaṇas, indicated that this stance (kaṭich-chhinna) can be used to display 'wonder' as well.

17 आवृत्य कटिच्छिन्नं तद्विस्मय निरूपणे ।

4. Bhujanga-trāsitam: This is the 24th karaṇa in the series of karaṇas of the Nātya Śāstra and is depicted by the 24th figure in the series of panels in Rājarājēśvaram. In this karaṇa, the kunchita-pāda (kunchita feet) is to be thrown up and the thighs are to have an oblique vivarttana (vivṛta) movement; the hip and the thigh are to have the same movement. The relevant śloka reads:

18 कुंचितं पादमुक्षिप्य त्र्यश्रमूरुं विवर्तयेत् ।
कटिजानुविवर्त्ताच्च भुजंगत्रासितं भवेत् ।।

---

1. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, sloka 237, latter half.

They are five kinds of foot movements mentioned in the Nāṭya Śāstra. They are kunchita, anchita, udghaṭṭita, sanna and agratala-sanchara. Kunchita is defined as below:

19 उत्क्षिप्ता यस्य पार्ष्णि : स्यदंगुल्याः कुंचितास्तथा ।
तथा कुंचितमध्यश्च स पाद : कुंचित : स्मृत :[1] ।।

"The Pāda is said to be in the kunchita posture when the heel is thrown up, the toes are all bent down and the middle of the feet is also bent."

The vivarttita movement of the thigh is defined in the following verse:

20 पार्ष्णिरयन्तरं गछेद्यत्र विवर्तनम्[2] ।

In vivarttita movement, the heel is drawn inwards. The five different movements of the thigh are defined in the verse below:

21 कंपनं वलनं चैव स्थंबनोद्वर्तने तथा ।
विवर्तनं च पंचैतान्यूरु कर्माणि कारयेत्[3] ।।

The five types are: Kampanam, Valanam, Sthambanam, Udvart-tanam and Vivarttanam.

Śārnga dēva in his Sangeeta Ratnākara further clarifies the positioning and movements of the hip, thigh and heels and mentions the hand movements, Ēka ḍōlakarah : one of the hands will be in the ḍōla hasta form and the other in the Khaṭakā-mukha.

22 खटकाख्यतदन्वर्तं अंध्रीमुरकाटजानुस्यश्रं
यत्र विवर्तयेत् ।
व्यावृत परिवृत्ताश्यां एको डोलकर : पर : ।
खटकाख्यतदन्वर्तं भुंजगत्रासितं मतम् ।।

5. **Bhujanga trastarēchitam: This is the 35th karaṇa according to the Nāṭya Śāstra text and fits in with the 35th position the sculptural representation occupies at Tanjāvūr. The verse in the**

1. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, slōka 262.
2. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, slōka 246 (first half).
3. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, ślōka 239.

Nāṭya Śāstra describing this karaṇa reads as follows:

23 भुंजगत्रासितं कृत्वा यत्रो भवति रेचितौ ।
वामपार्श्वं स्थितौ हस्तौ भुंजगत्रस्त रेचितम् ।।

The feet are to be in the bhujangatrāsa chāri and the two hands in the rēchita moved to the left side. The Bhujanga-trāsita chāri is described as one kunchita foot to be thrown up and the waist and the knee to be turned round and the thigh of the other leg to be turned round too. The verse already quoted supra and repeated below lays down the definition:

24 कुंचितं पादं उत्क्षिप्य त्र्यश्रमुरू विवर्तयेत् ।
कटिजानुविवर्ताश्च भुजंगत्रासिता भवेत् ।।

Both the arms are to be held left of the body and in the rēchita form.

In the panel, the kunchita leg formation is there and it is thrown with the angles prescribed; the arms are in the stage of moving on to the full rēchita stance; the sculpture has caught the movement at an intermediate stage. Both the Sangeeta Sāgara and Sangeeta Ratnākara tally in their explanation of this karaṇa with the depiction in stone at Tanjāvūr.

25 भुजंगत्रासितौ पादौ हस्तौ द्वावपि रेचितौ ।
वामपार्श्वे स्थितौ तत् स्याद् भुंजगत्रस्तरेचितम्[1] ।।

26 भुजंगत्रासिताञ्चारि ततो यत्र च रेचितौ ।
हस्तस्तु वामपार्श्वे तत् भुंजगत्रस्त रेचितम्[2] ।।

6. Pārśva-nikuṭṭitam: This karaṇa is the 49th in the series and is defined by the following ślōka:

27 हस्तौ तु स्वस्तिकौ पार्श्वे तथा पादो निकुट्टित: ।
यत्र तत् करणं ज्ञेयं बुधै: पार्श्व-निकुट्टितम्[3] ।।

This means: The karaṇa is said to be pārśva-nikuṭṭakam when the svastika hands are held on one side and the legs are in the

1. Sangeeta Sāgara, Ślōka 57
2. Sangeeta Ratnākara, Ślōka 645
3. Naṭya Śastra, Ch. 4, Ślōka 110.

nikuṭṭita posture. The svastika gesture is defined in the following verse:

28 मणिबन्धनविन्यस्थावराळै स्त्रीप्रयोजितौ ।
उत्तानौ वामपार्श्वस्थौ स्वस्तित: परिकीर्तित:[1] ।।

This means: when two arāḷa hands are upturned and held together at the wrist, then the svastika hands are formed. And an arāḷa hand is defined in the following verse:

29 आद्याधनुर्नता कार्या कंजितांगुष्टकस्तथा ।
शेषो भिन्नोर्ध्वलिता ह्यरांगुळ्य: करे[2] ।

This means: Arāḷa hand is formed when the forefinger is curved like a bow, the thumb is also curved and the rest of the fingers are held together.

The nikuṭṭita of the feet means standing on the forepart of the feet, the raised heels touching and tapping the ground, as clarified in the following verse:

30 स्थित्वा पादतालाग्रेण पार्ष्णिभूमौ निपात्यते ।
यस्य पादस्य करणे भवेदुद्घट्टितस्स: ।।

The presentation of this karaṇa in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram is true to the text.

6. Lalāṭa-tilakam: This is the fiftieth karaṇa of the series and is a rather difficult but gracefully depicted movement and posture. The defining stanza reads as below:

31 वृश्चिकं चरणं कृत्वा पादस्यांगुष्टकेन तु ।
ललाटे तिलकं कुर्यात् ललाटतिलकं तु तत्[3]।।

The legs are brought into the vrischika pose, which feature finds repeated reference and sculptural representation in a number of

1. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, ślōka 132.
2. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, ślōka 42.
3. Nāṭya Śāstra, Ch. 9, ślōka 111

karaṇas (like vrischika, No: 46, vrischika-rēchita No. 44 etc.) and here the right leg is lifted aloft so as to bring the foot in level with the forehead: when the tilakam (the forehead mark) is affixed with the big toe, the karaṇa is said to be lalāṭa-tilaka.

Śārnga Dēva in his Sangeeta Ratnākara, mentions that this karaṇa is indicative of the movement of celestial beings:

32 . . . तदा ललाटतिलकं विद्याधर गतौमतम्[1] ।

In this chapter, we have dealt with a random selection of karaṇas merely to illustrate their textual definitions with their celebrated commentaries and to identify them with their sculptural representation in Rājarājēśvaram. We could multiply the illustrations and in fact attempt a compilation karaṇa-wise, but that will spill much beyond the scope of this book.

1. **Sangeeta Ratnākara, ślōka 669(latter half).**

5

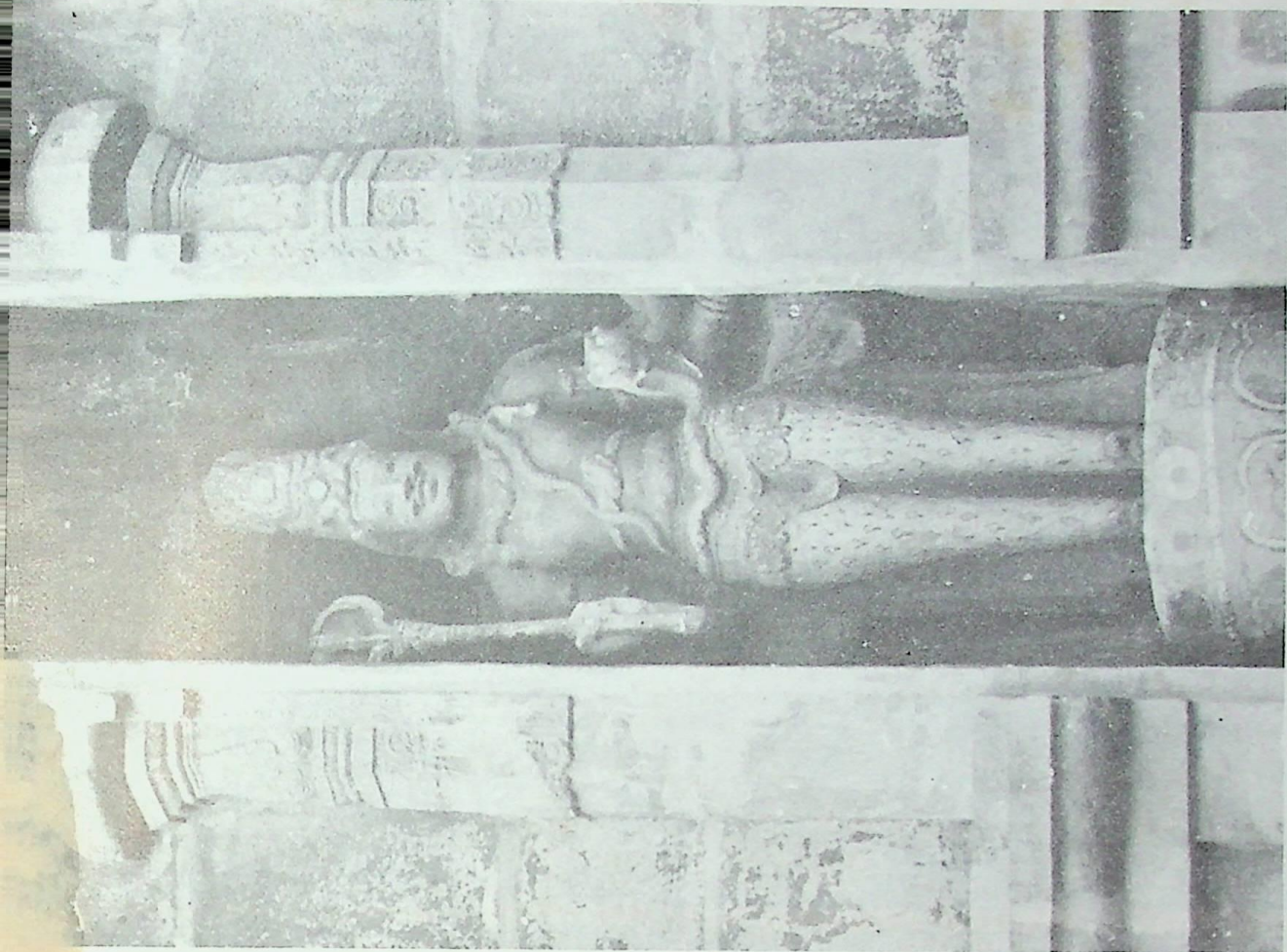
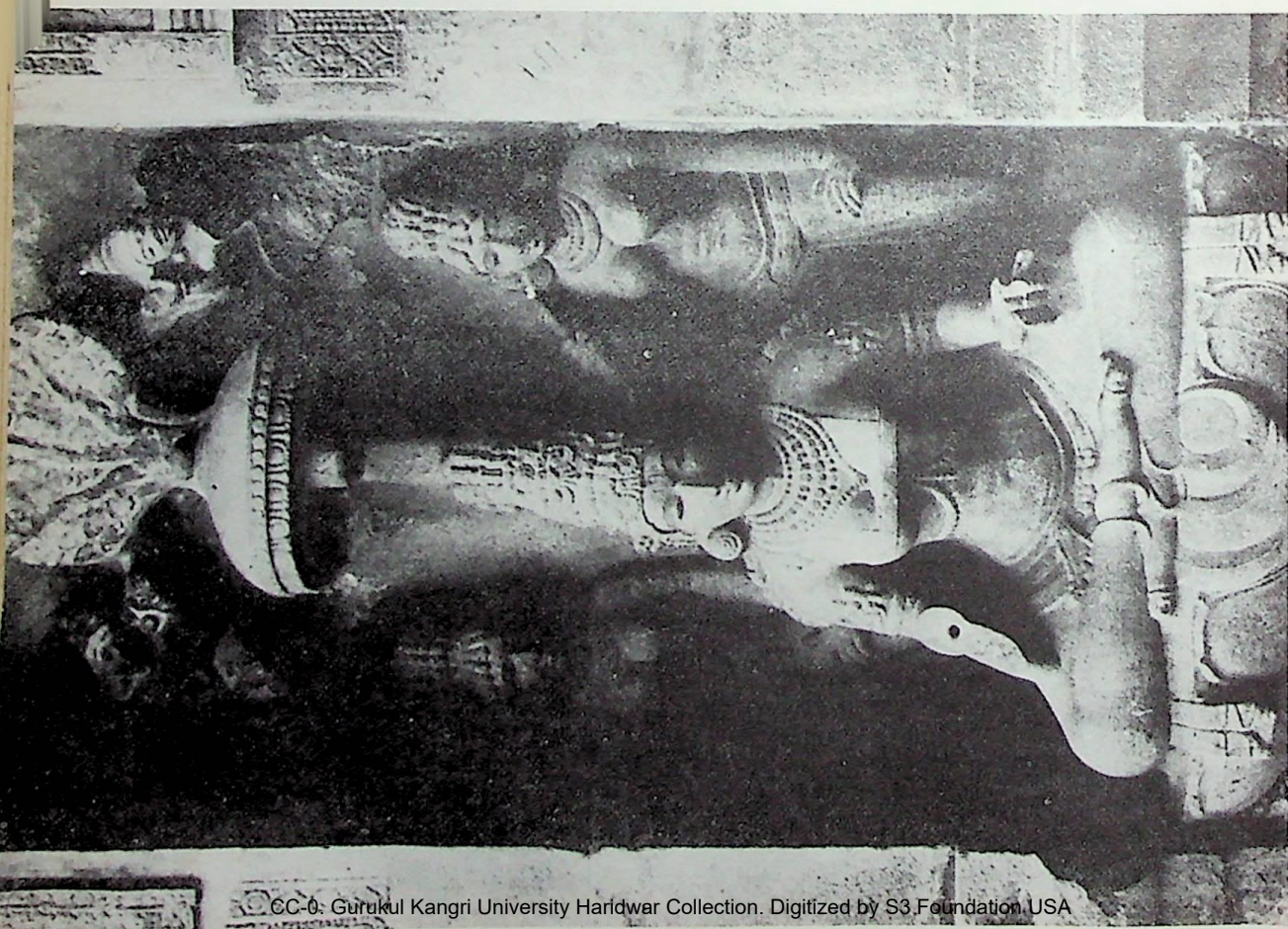
Metallic Images Set up in Rājarājēśvaram

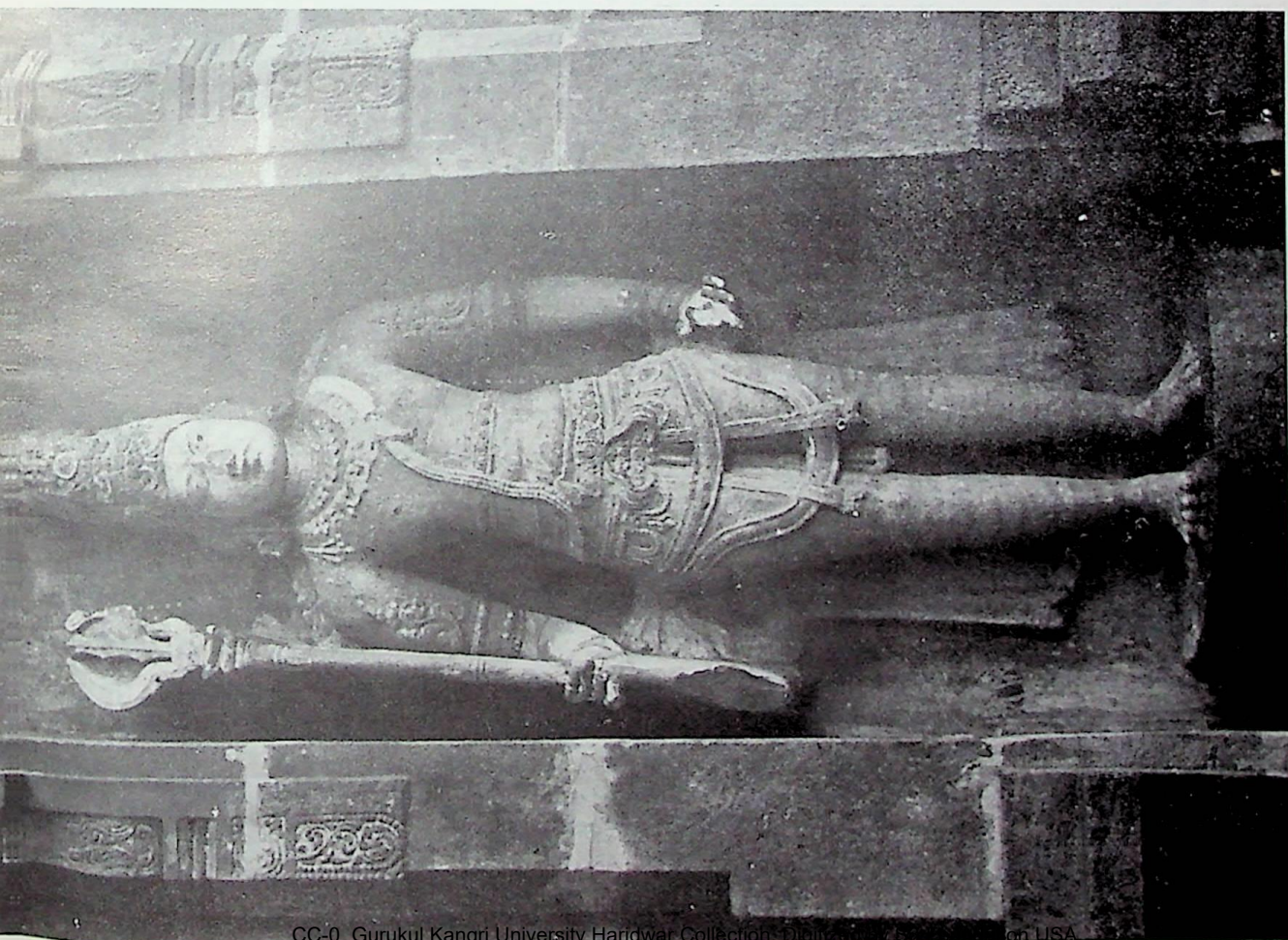
Rājarājēśvaram is the only temple of its kind where a complete inventory of the amazing number of metallic images gifted to it in a short span of not more than a decade or so by Rājarāja, his sister Kundavai, his queens, his chiefs and the priests, has been left to posterity, with the minutest details regarding their size, shape and other measurements, all engraved in the inimitable calligraphy, characteristic of the Rājarājan era. This alone could be justification enough for attempting a monograph on this great temple at Tanjāvūr. Considerable space would be required to spell out the details revealed by these voluminous lithic records, but we shall content ourselves with a mere enumeration of the images.

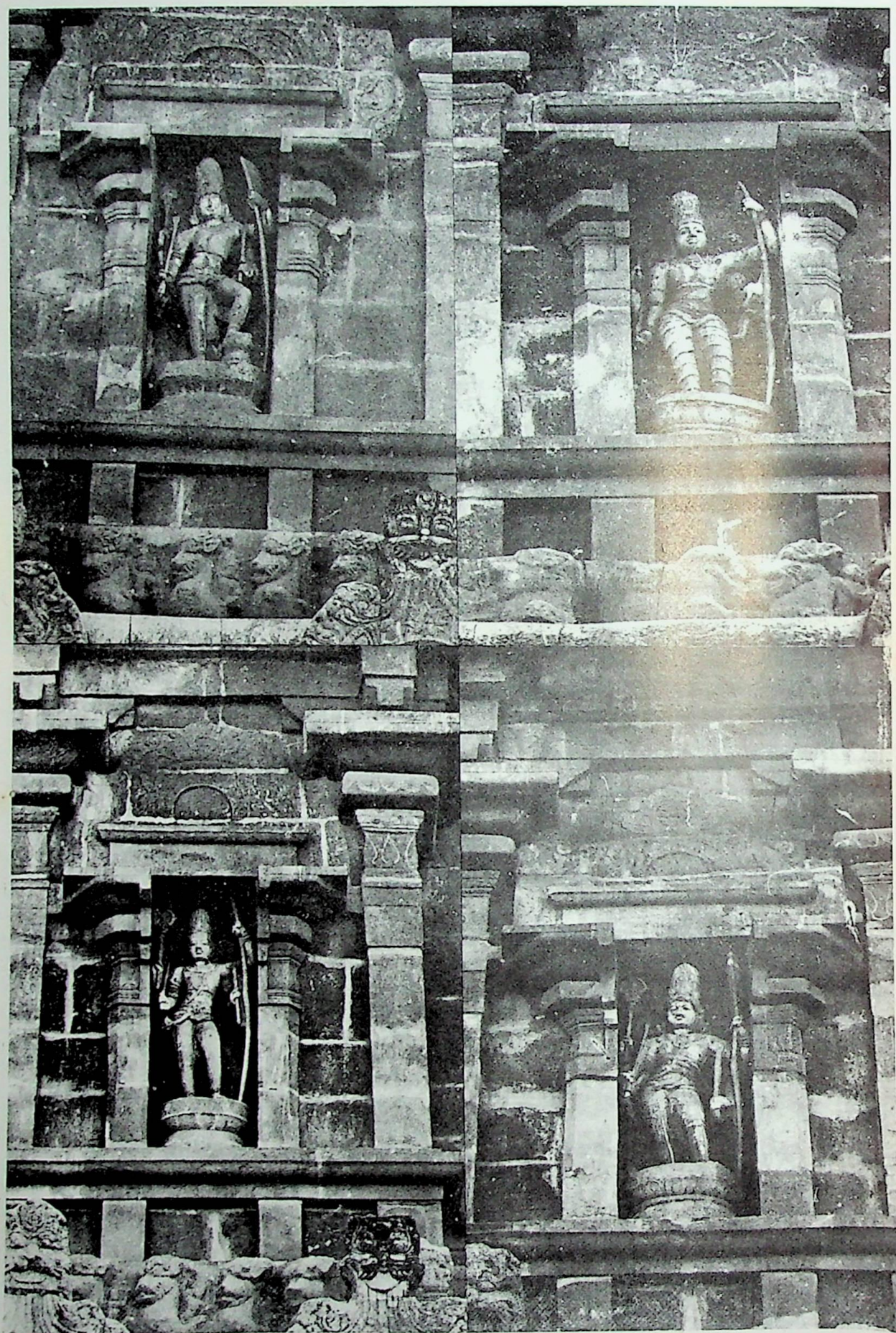
An illustrative list of the details of icons presented to the temple by the Generals and Nobles of the Court of Rājarāja I is given in Appendix 'B' (p. 285).

To help the reader have an idea of the details mentioned in the description of the icons gifted to the temple, a close rendering of the account as provided in one of the inscriptions (SII, II, No. 29) relating to the gift by Rājarāja of Chaṇḍēśvara-prasāda-dēva is given below (the dimensions of the icons were given in muḻam (cubits), viral (finger-width) and tōrai, a sub-unit thereof):

"Chaṇḍēśvara-prasādadēva was represented as having four divine arms (tirukkai) and measuring twenty viṛals and four tōṛais in height from foot to hair; and it stood mounted on a lotus (padma)

21A. Lingōdbhava (6), garbhagriha wall

21B. Śiva

22A. Sarasvati (29), ardhamaṇḍapa wall

22B. Lakshmi (3), ardhamaṇḍapa wall

23A. Rudra (Śiva)

23B. Rudra (Śiva)

24A,B,C and D: Niche figures on the upper tier of the garbhagriha

pedestal which was set with jewels and joined to the feet of the God, and measuring one viṛal and two tōṛais in height. One solidly cast image of Muyalagan (with two arms) measuring three viṛals in height from ear to hair; one solid image of the Consort, Uma Paramēśvari, measuring fifteen viṛals and three tōṛais in height from 'foot to hair'; one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels and measuring one viṛal and one tōṛai in height; one pedestal on which the god and the goddess stood, measuring one muḻam and two viṛals in length, sixteen viṛals in breadth and six viṛals in height; one solid image of Mahādēva from which one divine hand was projecting and measuring one viṛal and two tōṛais in height from the pedestal (śrī-pāda-pīṭham) to the top (śirō-varttanai) and three viṛals and a half in circumference (evidently the deity was in the form of a lingam from which emerged a single hand ?), one solid pedestal two viṛals in height joined to this image; one solid image of Chaṇḍēśvara with two arms, five viṛals and five tōṛais in height from 'foot to hair' (pādādi kēśāntam); one solid image of his father, with two arms, depicted as having fallen and lying on the ground (measuring six viṛals and seven tōṛais in length from foot to hair), one solid image of Chaṇḍēśvara, having two arms, represented as receiving a boon (prasādam) from the God, and measuring nine viṛals in length from foot to hair; one pushpa-mālai (flower garland), given to Chaṇḍēśvara as a boon, measuring fifteen viṛals and four tōṛais in length, half a viṛal in breadth and two tōṛais in thickness and encompassing (kavitta) all these images was a prabhai (aureola) measuring two muḻams and twenty-three viṛals in circumference."

This inscription (SII, II, No. 29) is found on a pillar of the east enclosure (tiruch-chuṟṟu-māḷigai), to the right (south) of the gōpuram, engraved on all its four faces. It describes a number of copper images which the king Rājarājadēva himself had set up before the 29th year of his reign. We have chosen this inscription as the images appear to relate to two successive scenes from the life of the Saiva Saint, Chaṇḍēśa. The first group possibly comprises the

scene where the devotee, Chaṇḍēśa cuts off the leg of his father who intrudes and disturbs him while he is meditating before Śiva, represented here in the form of a Linga. The second panel, a sequel to the first, depicts the famous anugraha scene where Śiva ties the garland round the crown of his devotee and bestows grace on him—a panel which was carved in stone a few decades later at Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḻapuram in the exquisite Middle Chōḻa tradition.

This would have constituted a majestic array of icons in a thematic panel but unfortunately they have been lost to us.

A complete list of all the icons gifted to the Rājarājesvaram temple in the final years of Rajaraja I is given below:

GIFTS BY RĀJARĀJA I

1. Koḷhai dēvar (gold)
2. Kshētrapāladēvar (gold)
3. Āḍavallār
4. Umā Paramēśvari, Consort of Āḍavallār
5. Āḍavallār Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar
6. Tanjai Viṭankar
7. Mahāmēru Viṭankar (SII, II, 83)
8.
9.
10. Vāsudēva—4 images (SII, II, 91) (silver)
11.
12. Chaṇḍēśvara Prasāda dēvar[1] (copper)
13. Panchadēhamūrti[2] (copper)
14. Subrahmaṇya[3] (copper)
15. Dakshiṇāmūrti[4] (copper)
16. Mahā Vishṇu[5] (copper)
17. Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār[6] (dancing—copper)
18. Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār[7] (standing—copper)
19. Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār[8] (standing—copper)

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1. SII, II, no. 29.
2. SII, II, no. 30.
3. SII, II, no, 49.
4. SII, II, no. 50.
5. SII, II, no. 52.

6 to 8. SII, II, no. 84.

20. Piḷḷaiyār[1] (comfortably seated—copper)
21. Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār[2] (dancing—copper)
22. Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār[3] (comfortably seated—copper)
23. Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār[4] (comfortably seated—copper)

GIFTS GIVEN BY KUNDAVAI[5], THE SISTER

24. Umā Paramēśvari, Consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar (no. 5 above)
25. Umā Paramēśvari, Consort of Tanjai Viṭankar (no. 6 above)
26. Ponmāḷigai Tūnjina dēvar (Sundara Chōḷa, father of Rājarāja I)
27. Tammai (Vānavan Mahādēvi, the mother of Kundavai and Rājarāja I)

GIFTS BY QUEEN LŌKAMAHĀDĒVI[6]

28. Pichchadēvar (Bhikshāṭanar) (copper)

GIFTS BY QUEEN PANCHAVAN MAHĀDĒVI[7]

29. Tanjai Aḷagar (copper)
30. Umā Paramēśvari (Consort of No. 29)
31. Gaṇapati
32. Saint Patanjali

GIFTS BY QUEEN CHŌḶA MAHĀDĒVIYĀR[8] (copper icons)

33. Āḍavallān (Naṭarāja)
34. Umā Paramēśvari, his Consort
35. Rishabhavāhana dēvar
36. His Consort (of No. 35)
37. Gaṇapati

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1 to 4. SII, II, no. 84.
5. SII, II, no. 6.
6. SII, II, no. 9 also nos. 34, 35.
7. SII, II, no. 51, 53.
8. SII, II, no. 42, 46.

GIFTS BY QUEEN PRITHVĪ MAHĀDĒVI[1]

38. Śrīkaṇṭhamūrti
39. Pārvati (Consort of no. 38) (copper image)

GIFTS BY QUEEN TRAILŌKYA MAHĀDĒVI[2]

40. Kalyāṇa Sundara (with Umā Paramēśvari, Vishṇu and Brahma) (copper images)

GIFTS BY QUEEN ABHIMĀNA VALLIYĀR[3]

41. Lingapurāṇa dēvar (copper icon)

GIFTS BY QUEEN ILĀḌA MAHĀDĒVIYĀR[4]

42. Pāśupatamūrti

GIFTS BY THE GENERAL & MINISTER KRISHNAN RĀMAN[5]

43. Ardhanārīśvarar

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN ĀDITTAN SŪRYAN[6]

44. Nambi Ārūranār
45. Nangai Paravaiyār
46. Tirunāvukkaraiyar
47. Tirujnāna Sambandar
48. Periya Perumāḷ (the king himself)
49. Lōkamahādēvi (the chief queen)
50. Dēvāra-dēvar (the Lord of Dēvāram[7], the Tamil Saivite hymns, deified)

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1. SII, II, no. 80, 82.
2. SII, II, no. 11.
3. SII, II, no. 44.
4. SII, II, no. 95 para 56.
5. SII, II, no. 39.
6. SII, II, no. 38.
7. SII, II, no. 40.

51. Milāḍu-Uḍaiyār, a Saiva saint and the Chief of Milāḍu
52. Kshētrapāladēva (eight armed)
53. Bhairava (dancing)
54. Siruttoṇḍa Nambi
55. Tiruveṇkāṭṭu Nangai
56. Śirāḷadēvar

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN VĒLĀN Ādittan[1]

57. Śiva and Umā
58. Subrahmaṇya
59. Gaṇapati

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN RĀJARĀJA MŪVĒNDA VĒḶĀN[2]

60. Kirāṭa-Arjunīya dēvar

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN KŌVAN AṆṆĀMALAI[3]

61. Bhringīśar
62. Sūryadēvar

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN MUMMAḌI ŚŌḺA PŌŚAN[4]

63. Chaṇḍēśvara dēvar

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN VAḌUGAN[5]

64. Durgā Paramēśvari

GIFTS BY NOBLEMAN RĀJARĀJA KĀTTIYARĀYAN[6]

65. Kāla piḍāri, and finally

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1. SII, II, no. 32.
2. SII, II, no. 6.
3. SII, II, no. 47.
4. SII, II, no. 55.
5. SII, II, no. 79.
6. SII, II, no. 81.

GIFTS BY GURU ĪŚĀNA ŚIVA PAṆḌITA[1]

66. The Guru (himself)

Of these sixty-six metallic images in gold, silver, copper, bronze, brass and panchalōha (the five metals in amalgam consisting of gold, silver, copper, zinc and tin), only two have survived to stand in lonely majesty, bespeaking the glory of the age of metal-casting, and to remind us of the ravages of time and political convulsions that have swept the region over the millenium since the temple had been built. We do not know where all the rest have disappeared. In fact, but for the detailed lithic records about them, we would not even be aware that this enormous number of metals were ever cast in that region. But the two specimens now housed in the Naṭarāja maṇḍapa or sabhā maṇḍapa are in the incomparable Rājarājan mould, though again we do not know if the Naṭarāja here is Āḍavallār, Āḍavallār Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, Tanjai Viṭankar or Mahā Mēru Viṭankar cast by Rājarāja and others. Nevertheless, it can be taken as one of them. The Consort by his side is one out of the many Umā Paramēśvari icons gifted to the temple. It would be rewarding indeed if we could pause for a moment to study these icons, for they record the peak of Chōḷa metal casting, an art so assiduously practised in his grant-aunt Sembiyan Mahādēvi's days and so avidly taken up by Rājarāja himself in his own time.

Śiva, leaving aside his linga-manifestation that lent little scope for the numerous ateliers to prove their worth, was cast in various moods and modes—the several forms of Anugrahamūrti,[2] the benign grace bestowing God, the many forms of Samhāra mūrti,[3] the destroyer of evil and the evil doer, the Ugramūrti,[4] the angry Śiva and Nrittamūrti, the Lord of Dance and Music. Besides these there are numerous other forms like Lingōdbhavamūrti, Chan-

1. SII, II, no. 96.
2. Chaṇḍēśānugraha mūrti, Nandīśānugrahamūrti, Vignēśvarānugrahamūrti, Kirāṭārjuna-mūrti, Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti, etc.
3. They are Kālāntaka mūrti, Gajāsurasamhāra (or Gajāntaka) mūrti, or Gajāri, Kālāri murti (or Kālāntakamūrti), Tripurāntakamūrti, Sarabhēśamurti, Brahmaśiraschchhēdalamūrti, Bhairava with his numerous, as many as sixty four, forms, Vīrabhadramūrti.
4. Aghōramurti, Daśabhuja, Mahākāḷa (with Mahākāḷi).

draśēkharamūrti, Sukhāsanamūrti, Umāsahitamūrti, Umāmahēśvaramūrti, Somaskandamūrti, Jnāna, Yōga, Vākhyāna and Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇāmūrti, Bhikshāṭanamūrti, Kankāḷamūrti, Haryardhamūrti (or Hariharamūrti or Śankara-Nārāyaṇamūrti), Gangādharamūrti, Ardhanārīśvaramūrti, Kalyāṇa Sundaramūrti, Vṛishārūḍha mūrti, Vrishavāhanamūrti and Vishāpaharaṇamūrti.

In the castings at Rājarājēśvaram, we saw a fair cross-section of this wide range of manifestations of Śiva viz., Naṭarāja (Nrittamūrti), Chaṇḍēśa Prasāda Dēvar (Anugraha mūrti), Linga Purāṇa dēvar (Lingōdbhava, representing Śiva in Linga form), Bhikshāṭanar, Rishabhavāhana dēvar, Kalyāṇasundarar, Pāśupata mūrti, Ardhanārīśvarar, Kirāṭārjuna dēvar, besides special forms like Panchadēha mūrti, Śrīkaṇṭha mūrti and so on. But among the gifts were certain icons that were related to the Tamiḻ Śaiva Saints who received tremendous popularity in the wake of Rājarāja's unremitting efforts for the recovery of the lost Tamiḻ Vēdas, the Dēvāram hymns, and his no less unremitting efforts to spread the gospel of the Tamiḻ Saints. Such icons were Nambi Ārūranār, Nangai Paravaiyār, Tirunāvukkaraiyar and Tirujnāna Sambandar. Besides these, there were the representations of lesser Saints, Śiruttoṇḍa Nambi, Tiruveṇkāṭṭu Nangai and Śirāḷadēvar and again Milāḍuḍaiyār. But the most significant among them was a divine representation of the Tamiḻ Maṟai, i.e. the Dēvāram, which Rājarāja deified and worshipped as Dēvāra-dēvar. We have an idea of the details of the iconic representation of the Tamiḻ hymns from its description—a solid brass image (tirumēni) of Chandraśēkhara dēva, with four arms, a brass pedestal bearing a lotus, and a solid aureola made of copper over this image.[1] The obvious importance Rājarāja attached to the Dēvāram hymns is shown by a thematic panel in metal with the king as Periya Perūmāḷ (the great Lord), evidently worshipping Dēvāradēvar. But all these images are now left to the imagination of the art-lover to recreate in the mind's eye and visualize how such an array of icons might have converted the mahāmaṇḍapa into a veritable art gallery which had few parallels.

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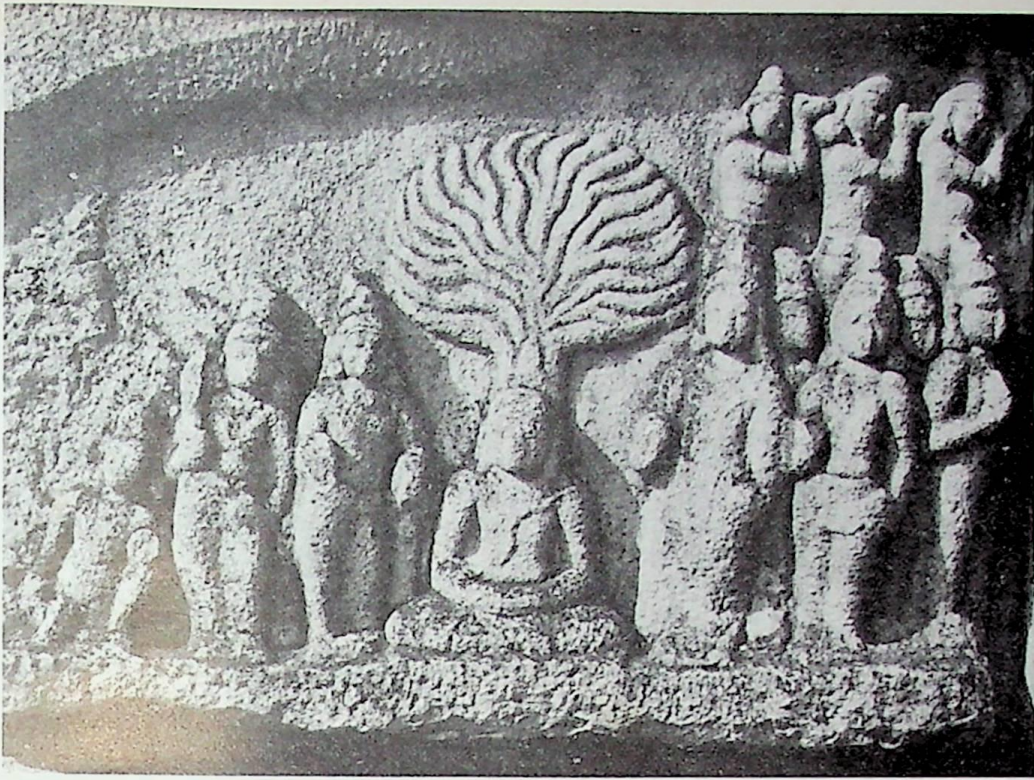
1. SII, II, no. 38.

Reverting to Naṭarāja, the Ādavallān, who has survived to this day, is a close cast of the more famous Tiruvālangāḍu Naṭarāja now preserved in the Madras Museum. The latter is one of the finest specimens of metallic castings in South India, amazing for its grace, design and execution. The Āḍavallān at Tanjāvūr and the Tiruvālangāḍu Naṭarāja were both cast in the same period, possibly in the same atalier. This is the commonest form of Śiva dance, one of the seven or nine forms described in the Śaiva Āgamas. The principal icon is framed in an oval-shaped prabhāmaṇḍala (aureola) whose holding stems end in a makara face with yawning mouth, one to each side, and rise almost to the level of the navel of the icon, to receive and hold between their teeth the two ends of the ardhachandra upper element. There are fifteen five-tongued flames (jvāla) to a side, with a crowning flame at the top to decorate the aureola. The icon is four-armed, the front left hand being swung across the chest, towards the right in the daṇḍahasta or the gajahasta style, with the palm and the fingers gently dropping. The back left hand carries on its upturned palm the urn of fire, the fingers being spread out. The front right hand is held in the abhaya pose, the top of the middle finger being in alignment with the hikka-sūtra, as prescribed in the āgamas. On the forearm of this hand is a snake clinging to it, hence called sarpa or bhujanga-valaya, whose stability and adhesion to the mass of the metal is ensured by the hood being fixed to the aureola. The spread-out back right hand, with the forearm tilted upwards, holds the ḍamaru (kettle drum) between the outstretched fingers in the crook of the thumb and the forefinger. The right leg is slightly bent and is planted firmly on the back of the Āpasmāra-purusha or muyalakan, the knee reaching up to the nābhi sūtra. The left leg is lifted up above the knee of the right leg and is swung across to the right, the angles at the knees being virtually the same in both the legs. The head, as in the case of the Tiruvālangāḍu image, is adorned with two layers of peacock feathers, dhurdhura (dhatura) flowers, and a grimacing skull right in the middle of the headdress and over the forehead. The cobra swings round the back of the pushpa bandha on the hair and rears its head to the right. The lobe of the right ear is perforated into a loop with no ornamentation, while that of the left ear has the patra-kuṇḍala. A fine crescent is

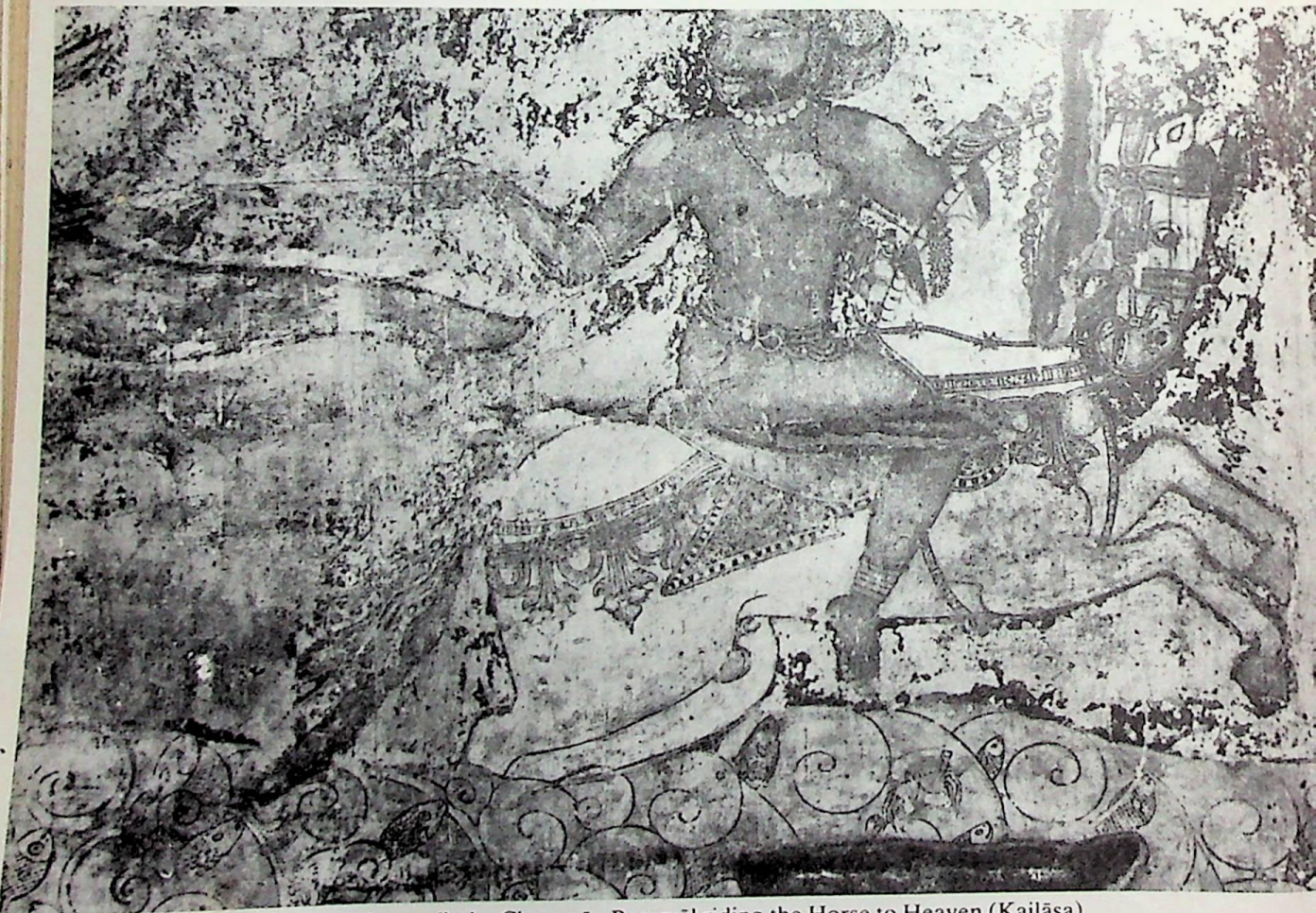
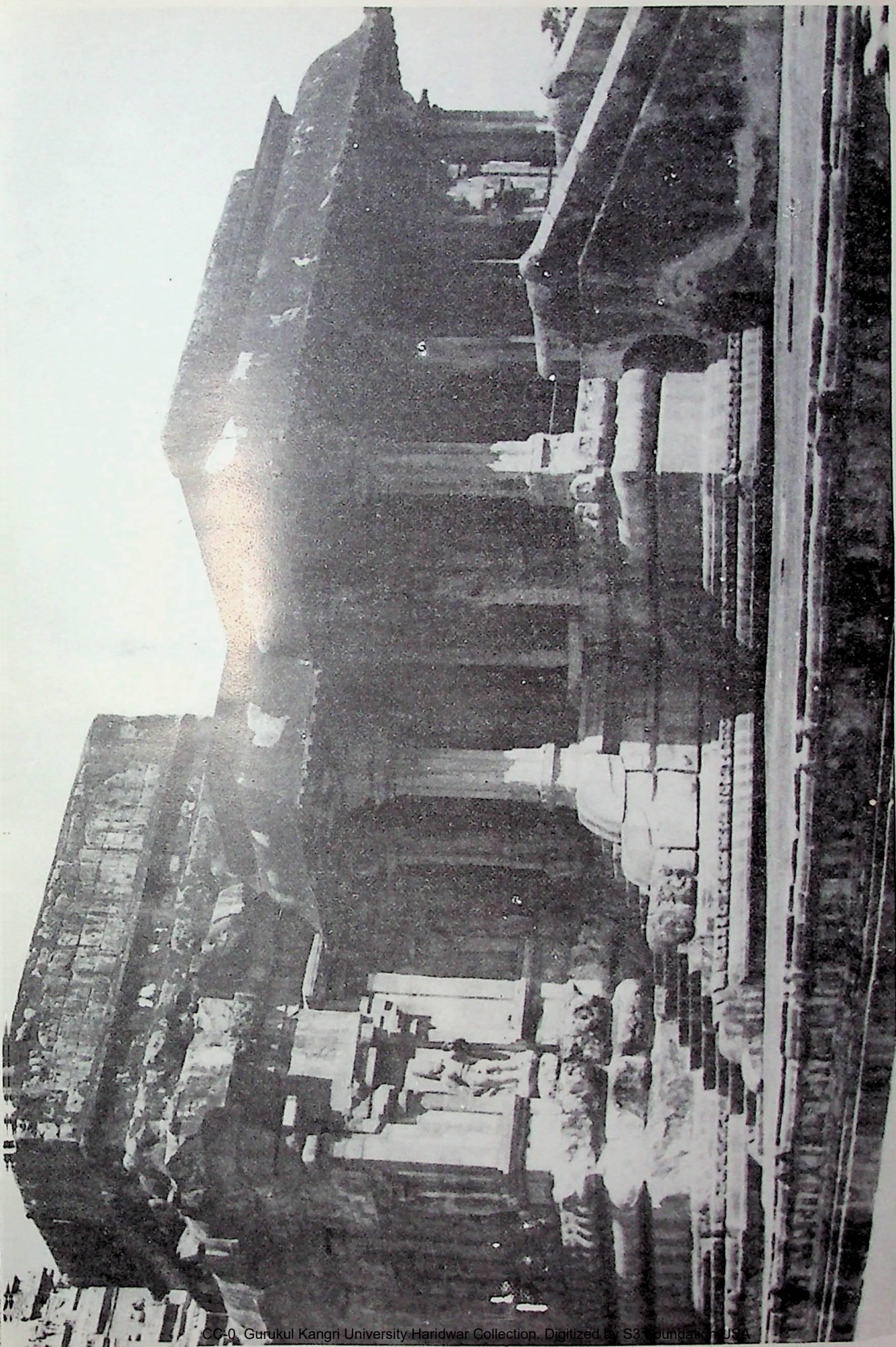
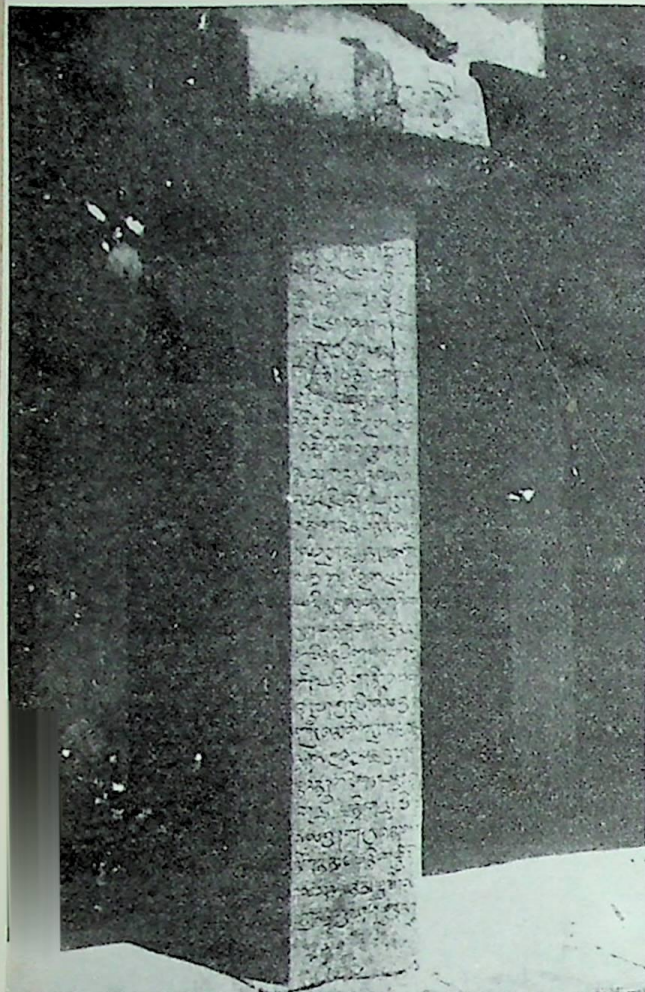
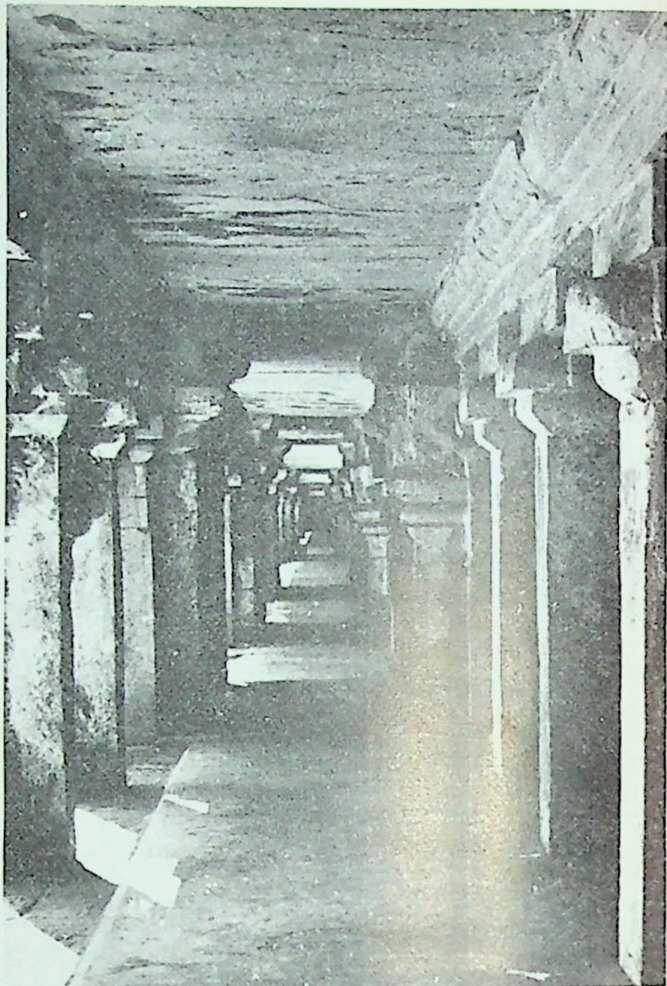
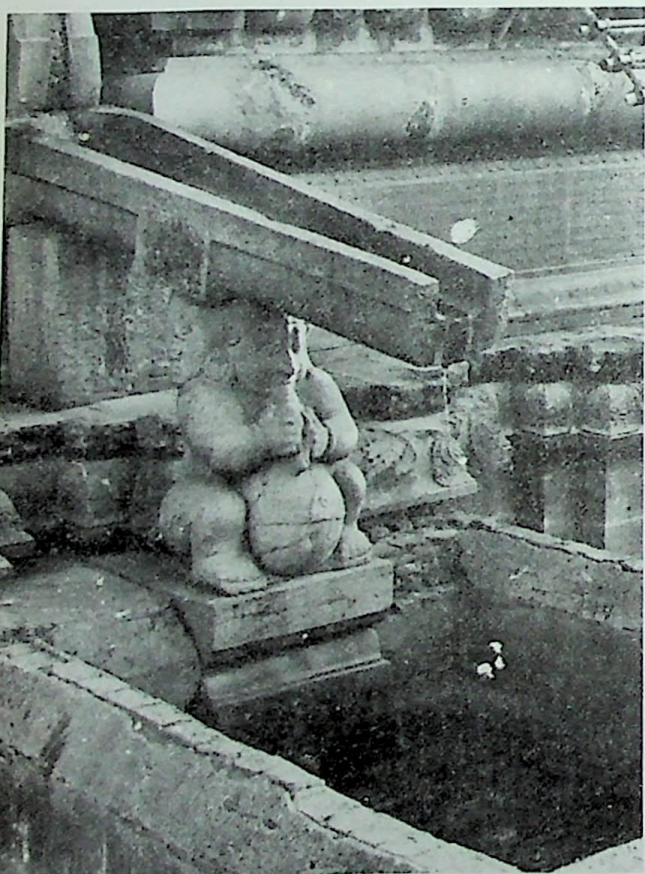
mounted on the orb of the peacock feathers, slightly to the left. There are five strands of jaṭās fanning out on each side of the head, the space between the strands being covered with a decoration of dhatura and arka flowers. The sixth strand on either side loops itself into an inverted pomogranate, providing a floral and decorative backdrop for the head. The Gangā image is represented as a maid with a human head and torso, the two arms held in the anjali pose, while below the hip it tapers into a fish tail turned sidewards to symbolise flowing water. By casting Gangā between the looped strand and the straight strand on the top right hand over the prabhāvaḷi, the idea of Śiva holding up Gangā in his matted locks is conveyed. The face is turned slightly upwards to the left giving it a divine tilt and a distant look. The body of Naṭarāja is plainly but elegantly decorated with an ēkāvaḷi, a pearl string, the yajnōpavīta and the ura.-sūtra, a chest band that girdles the torso around the upper belly region with a loop on one side and the two free ends terminating over the prabhāmaṇḍala, incidentally securing the massive icon to it. All the fingers excepting the middle ones are adorned with rings and so are the toes, except the second one. Round the waist is the minimum of clothing in the form of a tiger skin held in position by a kaṭi-bandha. (See Middle Chola Temples, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, plates 1 and 338). (See pp. 260, 261).

The Āpasmāra-purusha lies prostrate under the left foot of Śiva with the former's head to his right, and the face turned towards the viewer. The snake which generally lies parallel to the body is here shown caught between Śiva's foot and Muyalakan's back which is upturned. Umā Paramēśvari stands to his left. (See ill. 40B, p. 262).

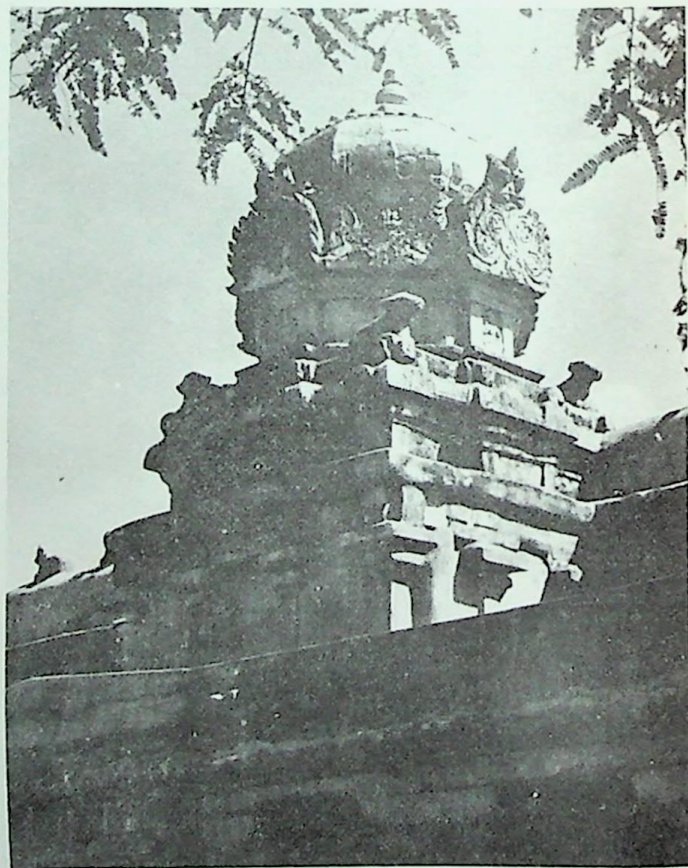
The only other icon definitely attributable to the Rājarājēśvaram temple, but now preserved in the Tanjāvūr Art Gallery, is one of Tripurāntaka. It is a four-armed metal, standing on a lotus pedestal. He wears a jaṭāmakuṭa, with a crescent on the left top, and in his left ear is the patrakuṇḍala. The right lobe is unadorned. Five neck ornaments cover the upper part of the chest, while the single-strand flat yajnōpavīta meanders over the chest and belly to the hip. The udarabandha, kaṭi-sūtra and kaṭi-bandha are noteworthy. The rear right arm carries the ṭankha, but the rear left arm which was possibly meant to carry the mṛga (deer) is no longer there. The arms

in front are poised to hold the arrow in the right and the bow in the left. The left leg is bent at the knee and placed on a squatting Āpasmārapurusha, who is crushed under the foot. Unlike in some other cases, he is not blowing a conch.

25A. Buddha panel

25B. Rājarāja and Karuvūr Dēvar

27. Maṇi-maṇḍapa (southeast view)

26A. 26B. *Mural on the wall of the vestibule: Cheramān Perumāl riding the Horse to Heaven (Kailāsa)*

27. Maṇi-maṇḍapa (southeast view)

28A. Inscribed pillar in the ambulatory peristyle

28C. Krishṇan Rāmian wall (corridor)

28B. *Gargoyle (praṇāla)*

28D. One of the Ashta-dik-pāla shrines

6

Rājarāja's Gifts to Rājarājēśvaram

The richest source material for writing on Rājarājēśvaram is the temple itself, what with its completely documented story, enshrined in over 107 inscriptions carved on the various walls in such excellent calligraphy and with such care that even the grooved-out letters add a charm of their own to the epic quality of this edifice. They provide an inexhaustible mine of information not merely on the constructional details of the temple and the various icons presented to it, as we saw in the earlier chapters, but also on the minutiae of the jewellery and ornaments presented to those icons, their content, texture, quality and physical dimensions, not excluding the details of the gems, the gold and the silver that went into their making. In this chapter we shall briefly touch upon these gifts, leaving however an exhaustive treatment of the subject of ornaments and jewels to a later chapter. A substantial part of the gifts to Rājarājēśvaram came from Rājarāja himself, mostly from his war-won booty. The pre-eminent lithic document dealing with his donations, which could claim to be Rājarāja's edict, is engraved in nine sections on the north wall and four sections on the west wall of the central shrine. From this we gather that his gifts consisted of icons, gold ornaments and jewellery.

Earlier we have had occasion to refer to this inscription which commences with the Sanskrit preamble followed by the main body of the text in Tamiḻ. This crucial inscription is, in terms of its contents, divisible into two parts.

The first part comprises three groups of gifts and the second part four. Taking up the first part, we gather that Rājarāja made a gift of a gold icon of Koḷhaidēvar, the deity that is taken out during

the Śrībali ceremony. It weighed 829¾ kaḻanjus and 3 manjāḍis, according to the standard weight of Āḍavallān, and was gifted on the 312th day of the 25th regnal year, almost a year before the temple was ceremonially consecrated. Which can be taken to be the 275th day of the 26th year, when the gold plated copper pot was handed over by Rājarāja to the temple authorities.

Secondly, one set of ornaments and vessels gifted to the temple, as mentioned in the same inscription (paras 4 to 32), cover a total number of twenty-four items, including bowls, pitchers, spittoons, salver and so on. These were all of gold weighing 22,766 kaḻanjus (for full details of the vessels please see Appendix I, p. 290).

Thirdly, on the 319th day of his 26th year, Rājarāja I made a further gift of gold vessels from out of the treasures (bhaṇḍāra) seized by him in the Malaināḍu campaign in which he had defeated the Chēra king Chēramān and his Pāṇḍyan allies. He calls these vessels chinhas (emblems or tokens), and their details are given in Appendix 2, as culled from paras 35 to 50 of the same inscription. They include gold betel-pots and water-pots, censer, taḷigai, eight gold chains, a flywhisk and so on, weighing in all 61051/2 kaḻanjus.

The second part of the inscription covers the gifts made over a span of more than six years commencing from his 23rd to his 29th regnal year, leaving out those mentioned in the first part of the inscription which relates to gifts made on two specific days of his reign (i.e. his 25th and 26th years). These gifts fall into four categories: (i) Those given out of the treasure after the Malaināḍu campaign; (ii) those made after the titles of Śivapādaśēkhara and Rājarāja (which mean respectively 'He whose diadem is the feet of Śiva' and 'the king among kings') had been bestowed upon him; (iii) those he gave from his own treasure and, finally (iv) those given as offerings at the feet of Lord Rājarājēśvara, after his victory over the Western Chāḷukyan ruler Satyāśraya. These four groups of gifts, listed in Appendix 3, include various ritual vessels and trumpets and horns, like kangil and kuḻal, besides fly-whisks (ichchoppi-kai), parasols (tiruppaḻḻit-tongal), white parasols (dhavaḷa chhatra), salver for offering betel leaves and others. Under these four categories were 2, 9, 25 and 6 items weighing 67, 2938, 4020 and 264 kaḻanjus respectively (See pp. 291, 292 and 293).

Besides these, Rājarāja I gave invaluable gifts to the metallic image of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, which he had set up in the temple. They include a string or necklet of round beads (tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam), four armlets (tiruk-kaik-kārai), one pair of anklets (tiruva-ḍikkārai) and a girdle (paṭṭigai) (Appendix 4, see p. 294).

To crown, as it were, all these gifts, he gave a diadem (tiruppaṭ-ṭam) weighing 981¼ kaḷanjus cast out of the gold taken from the treasures he had seized in the Malaināḍu campaign.

To sum up, the total of Rājarāja's gifts in terms of gold, ornaments and images is

	Kalanju	**Manjādi**	**Kunri**
Image of Kolhaidēvar	829	18	—
Image of Kshētrapāladēvar	72	10	—
Vessels & ornaments (from his own treasure)	22,765	18	1
Gifts from captured treasure (Chēra)	6105	10	—
Gifts from captured treasure (Chēra)	67	—	—
Gifts from captured treasure (given after he got the title of Śivapādaśēkhara)	2,938	16	1
Gifts made subsequent to that date from his own treasure	4020	13	1
Gifts offered after his victory over Satyāśraya	264	4	1
Gifts to Dakshina MēruViṭankar including the diadem	487	12	0
Total	37,552	13	0

Some further gifts of Rājarāja I are enumerated in two inscriptions, one found on the east, north and west walls of the Chaṇḍēś-vara shrine ('engraved on stone on the jagadippaḍai and on the upapīṭhattu kaṇḍappaḍai of the Kōyil of Chaṇḍēśvara'), and another found on the lower tier of the north face of the śrīvimāna (SII, II, 59 and 3). The follwing are the items gifted to the Lord of Rājarājēśvaram:

"one diadem, one set of nine girdles, another set of six girdles (vide Appendix 5), sixteen pearl bracelets (muttu vaḷaigaḷ) (vide Appendix 6), five śrīchhandas, one śrī muḍi (crown), a tirumā-lai in gold (garland) and a tirup-puṛakkuḍai (a parasol) (vide

Appendix 7). In addition, Rājarāja I presented eight necklaces of gold studded with various precious stones (Appendix 8). Besides these, forty seven pieces of ornaments and jewellery also were presented to the temple which included items like pāśa mālai, tāli (marriage badge), bāhu-vaḷayam (armlet), breast plate, ratna-vaḷaiyal (jewelled armlet), tiruk-kaikkārai (arm rings), ratnakaṭakam, coral bracelets, girdles, pearl uruṭṭus, ruby uruṭṭus, diamond uruṭṭus, a special type of ornament known as Śōnagach-chiḍukku, ratna mōdiram (rings with precious stones), navaratna (nine-gemmed) rings, śrīchhandam, prishṭa-kaṇḍigai, sandals and many others (vide Appendix 8). These gifts add upto 2,373 kalanjus, valued at 4,056 kāśus." (See pp. 295-8, 299, 300 & 301 for Appendices 5,6,7 and 8).

Rājarāja presented one hundred and fifty-five silver ritual vessels (veḷḷiyin-tirup-parik-kalangaḷ), viz., vessels used during temple service and worship and for allied purposes, weighing 48.400 kalanjus in all (Appendix 9) (SII, II, No. 91). We learn from the same record that silver items (like gold ones) were weighed with the unit of weight called the Āḍavallān, used for precious metals and stones. This is the only record that deals with silver gifts, while all others relate to gold ornaments and other bejewelled items. The ancient names of some of these vessels may be mentioned here:

kāḷam (trumpet), taḷigai (a type of dish), maṇḍai (literally it means the head or skull, evidently a vessel shaped like the human head), kuṇḍam (water-pot), kalaśappani (censer), mūkku-vaṭṭigai (a basket with a spout), kaivaṭṭigai (hand basket), vaṭṭil (cups of different types–a general term), kalaśam (pots), maḍal (a receptable for sacred ashes), neḍu and kuru maḍals (tall and short receptacles), pingaḷam (exact meaning is not clear), kachchōlam, paḍikkam (spittoon), saṭṭuvam (ladle), ney-muṭṭai (a type of semi-spherical spoon used for serving ney i.e. clarified butter or ghee), taṭṭam (salvers), ilait-taṭṭu (plate shaped like a leaf) and others.

The only other items in silver that Rājarāja gave as gifts to the temple were (three definitely, but possibly four) images of God Vāsudēva, weighing 3162 kalanjus inclusive of aureolac (see pp. 305-9).

7

Kundavai's Gifts to Rājarājēśvaram

Any detailed treatment of Rājarājēśvaram cannot fail to mention the fabulous gifts and grants made by Kundavai, the elder sister (akkan) of Rājarāja I. We have mentioned in Chapter 2 that Rājarāja I and Kundavai were the children of Parāntakan Sundara Chōḷa through his queen Vānavan Mahādēvi. In view of this, Kundavai was known as Pirāntakan (magaḷ) Kundavaiyār meaning Kundavai, daughter of Parāntakan. Kundavai's dedication to Rājarāja and her endeavours in the field of temple building, and in turn Rājarāja's tremendous respect for his elder sister find repeated confirmation in the numerous inscriptions of this period. Kundavai's special status in the royal household is seen from the deferential treatment given to her in the order of Rājarāja that authorised the documents relating to gifts made only by him, his sister Kundavai, his queens and nobles be engraved on the śrīvimāna walls.

Kundavai's gifts were dedicated towards the adornment of and services to the four icons she had set up (a list of which has been given earlier in Chapter 5). To repeat, they were two Umāparamēś-varīs (the consorts of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar and Tanjai Viṭank-ar), Pon-Māḷigai-tūnjina-dēvar (her father Sundara Chōḷa) and Vānavan Mahādēvi (her mother). While the icon of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar (set up by Rājarāja) as well as those of her father and mother drew forth her munificence in varying measures, her main attention was bestowed upon the three consorts of Āḍavallān, Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar and Tanjai Viṭankar. These gifts are recorded in different inscriptions which are pieced together here

below. The first group of these gifts was made even in the 25th year of the king, on the 310th day, i.e., about 35 days or slightly more than a month (275th day of the 25th year) after the stūpi (finial) had been ceremonially handed over to the temple priests in connection with the consecration of the temple. Evidently, the gifts were being made even as the temple was under construction and much before the temple was completed; these gifts continued to flow in, in profusion, during the remaining four years of Rājarāja's rule.

A UMĀ PARAMĒŚVARI, Consort of Āḍavallān:

The gifts to the consort of Āḍavallār are contained in the first part of an inscription[1] which is engraved in five sections, each of which occupies a separate face of the west wall of the śrīvimāna: ('Rājarāja dēvarkku yāṇḍu irubattainjāvadu nāḷ munnūṟṟorupadināḷ Āḍavallār Nampirāṭṭiyār Umā Paramēśvariyārkku Śrī Rājarāja dēvar tirut-tamakkaiyār Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar Mahādēviyār kuḍutta.....'). They include eleven items of ritual vessels all made of gold, weighing 2,662 kaḻanjus, covering items like taḷigai (plate), maṇḍai (bowl), kuḍam (water-pot), vaṭṭil (cup), maḍal (receptacle for sacred ashes) and karaṇḍigaich-choppu (chunam box) (For full list see part (i) of Appendix 10, p. 310).

B UMĀ PARAMĒŚVARI, Consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar:

Kundavai's main attention however seems to have been bestowed on Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar. The gifts in this case lie scattered in several records:

(i) In the above mentioned inscription, paras 14 to 22 relate to this deity and cover numerous ritual vessels and aids to worship like vaṭṭil, tavakkai, kalaśappani (censer), annam (a vessel shaped like a swan), kiḷi (a vessel shaped like a parrot), makuṭa (crown) numerous gold flowers, tūkkam (pendant), tiru vāḷi (ear rings), tāli (marriage badge), kaṇṭha tuḍar (necklace), śāyalam, poṭṭus

1. SII, II, no. 2.

for the arms, kaṭaka (bracelet for the arms), tōḷilpaṭṭigai, tiru-aḍikkārai, pāda-śāyalam, tirukkāl mōdiram (foot-rings) and so on. They number more than 29; the gold flowers alone being 200. All together they weighed 3,670 kaḻanjus of gold (see part (ii) of Appendix 10 for details, see p. 310, 311).

(ii) In addition, a further set of 13 gold ornaments set with jewels was presented to the same deity before the 3rd year[1] of the reign of her nephew Rājēndra I (A.D. 1014). The description of the ornaments is spelt out in great detail (summarised in Appendix 11); they comprise a makuṭa (crown), vāḷis (ear-rings), uṛuṭṭus, tiru-mālai (necklace or garland), a number of bāhu-vaḷayams (armlets), śrī chhandams, poṭṭus, sūḍagams (bracelets) etc. These 13 pieces alone weighed 1,135 kaḻanjus and were valued at 11,820 kāśus and they contained 3,950 diamonds, 727 rubies and 2,657 pearls of various varieties (SII, II, No. 7) (See p. 312).

(iii) Another five items of jewellery and ornaments find mention in a further record dealing with ornaments presented by Kundavai until the 3rd year of Rājēndra I. It is inscribed on the south, east and north walls of a portico which forms the main entrance to the east of the central shrine. A part of the inscription has subsequently been built over and hence the information furnished is only fragmentary. Here again, the gifts made to Uma Paramēśvari, the consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, range over items like tiruppaṭṭigai (girdle), tiru-aḍik-kārai, śrī-pādaśāyalam and so on. These five pieces of ornaments together weighed 372 kaḻanjus and were valued at 6,200 kāśus (Appendix 12) and among them they had 2,301 diamonds, 434 rubies and 167 pearls (See p. 313).

(iv) And finally, from another record we gather that along with gifts to other deities, she gave this deity an ornament consisting of a single string, strung with 35 pearls of different qualities, 2 lapis lazuli, 1 ḍāḷimbam 1 paḍukkan and 1 kokkuvoy, weighing

1. Incidentally the 3rd year of the reign of Rājēndra 1 is the same as the 29th year of the reign of Rājarāja I.

4½ kaḻanjus and valued at 12 kāśus. Thus the gifts from Kundavai to this image alone are:

	Kaḻanjus	Kāśus
(i) 29 items	3,670	not given
(ii) 13 ornaments	1,135	11,820
(iii) 5 ornaments	372	6,200
(iv) 1 ornament	4½	12
48 items	5,181½	18,032

C UMĀ PARAMĒŚVARI, Consort of Tanjai Viṭankar:

This deity, also set up by Kundavai, was the recipient of a variety of gifts, only less profuse than in the case of the consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar.

These gifts, given in the 25th regnal year, included ritual vessels like taḷigai, maṇḍai, vaṭṭil, tavukkai, kalaśappani and kalaśam, the same as were given to Mēru Viṭankar's consort. They numbered 11 in all, excluding 130 gold flowers (tirup-porp-pū). They weighed 2,662 kaḻanjus (see part iii of Appendix 10, See p. 311).

From the incomplete record mentioned earlier, we gather that fourteen items of jewellery were gifted to Tanjai Viṭankar's consort, in addition to ten toe-rings; they included a crown, tūkkaṃ (pendant), vāḷi, uṛuṭṭu, tirukkambi, tāli and maṇi-vaḍam, vayira śāyalam, kanṭha tuḍar, puṟat-tuḍar, kaṭaka, tiruk-kaik-kārai and tiru-vaḍikkārai, besides śrīpāda vaḷayam, all of which added upto 559 and odd kaḻanjus (Appendix 13, See p. 313).

A further set of two items comprising a crown (makuṭa) and a mālai (garland) of diamonds and gold was also presented to the deity, the crown weighing 230 kaḻanjus and valued at 700 kāśus (Appendix 14). There would appear to have been some more items of jewellery, but the inscription is buried under subsequent construction. The earlier part of the inscription ends with the observation that 'the continuation of this is engraved on the panel (kaṇḍap-paḍai) underneath the projecting stone (uttiram ?) on the southern side (śaduram ?) of the portico (chatushkika)'. (See p. 314)

We have elaborately dealt with the gifts given to the three consorts with a view to giving a glimpse of the detailed documen-

tation that had been made of the weight, composition, nature and value of the jewellery and ritual vessels presented to them by Kundavai, whose example was followed, in varying degrees, by many royal personages and nobles.

We may now briefly run through the arrangements that she made for worship of the images of her father and mother. She deposited a sum of 520 kāśus with the village body of Gaṇḍarāditta Chaturvēdimangalam, at the rate of interest of 3 kuruṇis of paddy per kāśu, per year, which worked out to 130 kalams of paddy per annum; and further, she deposited 408 kaśūs with three village bodies, Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa Chaturvēdimangalam, Śrī Parāntaka Chaturvēdimangalam and Śūlamangalam. These bodies together contributed an interest of 51 kāśūs which went to procure the daily requirements for worship of the icons such as sacred cloth, towels, canopies and garlands. And finally she arranged for the supply of one uḻakku of ghee daily for burning lamps by providing Pirāntakan Achchan Aḍigaḷ with 32 kāśus in deposit (to buy 96 sheep at the rate of 3 sheep to a kāśu).

A similar arrangement was made for worship of the image of Vānavan Mahādēvi.

And finally, she donated 5,000 kaḻanjus of gold for the purpose of decorating the tiruvaṛangu, the hall where the icons of the consorts of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar and Tanjai Viṭankar were displayed for public worship on the procession day, during the annual festival (tiru viḻā). For details summing up Kundavai's contribution, see Appendix 14 (a), See p. 314).

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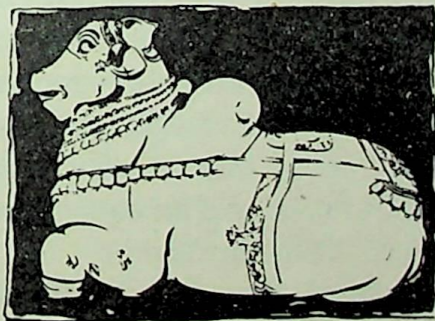

Jewellery and Ornaments

Fashioning of jewellery and ornaments must have been a very ancient art, dating back to the days when man had first learnt to carve out implements to mould nature's raw material for his use. Nature's stray abundance of coloured stones, accidentally discovered, as well as reeds and beads, much less rare to come by, came, in course of time, to supplement the floral embellishments the primitive man's instinct to adorn his body demanded. The neck, hip, waist, wrists and ankles were in for greater attention. When we come to discover the earliest iconic representation of man, the female diminutive figure from Mohanjo Daro, we find that she had already been a well-ornamented damsel, with wristlets and necklaces. She has already learnt the subtler forms of presenting the female torso in attractive genuflexions, laying the basis for the formalised dance forms of the subsequent centuries. This is what we find some five thousand years back. A millennium or two at least must have preceded this demonstration of skill in fashioning jewellery. By the time we come to the end of the first millennium after the Śaka era (that commenced a few decades after the birth of Christ), we find the jewellers' shops stacked with a multitude of bejewelled ornaments that could outshine, if not shame any modern jeweller's shop. Nine varieties of gems, each gem categorised into several grades of purity, shade and size, more than twenty different varieties of pearls, a dozen grades of rubies and an equal number of grades and shades of diamonds had been on display.

Tamil, as well as Sanskrit literature, belonging to the large span of time from the 3rd century B.C. to the 8th and 9th century A.D. makes profuse references to such jewellery. The ring in 'Mudrā-

rākshasa', a Sanskrit Classic and the anklet (śilambu) in Śilappadikāram', a Tamil Classic, form the central theme of the composition. But an extravagance of literary, and more particularly, epigraphical material emerges with the advent of the 10th century. The eleventh century, however, marks the high watermark in respect of information on jewellery in South India. It should redound to the credit of Rājarāja I that he had made available a systematic, exhaustive and meticulous description of the jewellery presented during his reign to the icons set up in the temple of his creation. Never before, and much less since, have we been allowed such fascinating information on jewellery and iconic gifts.[1]

In the earlier chapters dealing with the gifts of Rājarāja I and his sister Kundavai, mention in brief has been made of the jewellery presented to various deities in Rājarājēśvaram, leaving the details to be listed out in Appendices 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 14. Besides these, we saw in Chapter 5, dealing with metallic images set up in Rājarājēśvaram, that as many as sixty-six images were gifted during the closing years of Rājarāja's reign; and in many, in fact, in most cases, each gift was accompanied by a complement of jewellery and ornaments enumerated in detail in the inscriptions.

Rājarāja's principal queen Lōkamahādēvi presented thirteen ornaments to the metallic image of Pichcha Dēvar she had set up; they had 471 pearls, 12 crystals, 20 corals, 10 pōttis, 20 lapis lazuli, 4 ḍāḷimbams, 2 kokkuvāis and 2 paḍukaṇs set in (or fastened or soldered on) them weighing 241 kaḻanjus of gold.

Panchavan Mahādēvi's gifts to Tanjai Viṭankar, a copper image set up by her, were profuse. Twenty-one pieces of ornaments and gems were presented, which between them had 8161 pearls, 541 crystals, 843 diamond crystals, 96 corals, 60 pōttis, 12 kaṭṭippūs, 8 maṭṭappūs, one moṭṭu, 7 lapis lazuli, 8 ḍāḷimbams, 5 paḍukaṇs and 5 kokkuvāis. They weighed altogether 624 kaḻanjus and the gold content of these ornaments was valued at 659 kāśus.

She also gifted to the icon of Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Tanjai Viṭankar ten ornaments, which had 1919 pearls strung on them, besides 317 crystals and 94 pōttis. They weighed 127 kaḻanjus

1. Temple Art under the Chōḷa Queens. B. Venkataraman, Pp. 122, 123.

in all and their gold content was assessed at a value of 113 kāśus.

She made a gift of four pieces of ornaments to the image of Gaṇapati set up by her; they weighed 45 kaḻanjus.

Twenty-six pieces of gold ornaments were donated by her to the metallic image of Patanjali Dēvar set up by her; they weighed 56 kaḻanjus.

Another queen of Rājarāja I, namely, Chōḻa Mahādēvi set up an image of Āḍavallār (Naṭarāja) and gave it a chain known as tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam, weighing 6½ kaḻanjus. She also gave to the icon of Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Āḍavallār a gift of three pieces of ornaments, which had in them 87 pearls, 6 pōttis, 4 ḍāḷimbams, 3 paḍukaṇs and one kokkuvāi. They weighed altogether 7 kaḻanjus and 8 manjāḍis and were valued at 12 kāśus.

Chōḻa Mahādēvi's gifts of ornaments to the image of Rishabhavāhana dēvar set up by her were more numerous; twenty-six ornaments having 4328 pearls, 106 crystals, 22 corals, 47 pōttis, 10 small gold flowers, one gold bud, 6 lapis lazuli, 8 ḍāḷimbams, 6 paḍukaṇs and one kokkuvāi. They weighed 332 kaḻanjus of gold and the value of gold in the ornaments was estimated at 213 kāśus. She also donated to this deity certain other items, not strictly jewellery or ornaments, like kapālam, veṇ-śāmaraik-kai, kuṟṟuḍaivāḷ, paradal, maḍal and kachchōlam, which will strictly fall under decorative items or ritual vessels.

Çhōḻa Mahādēvi gifted 13 ornaments to Umā Paramēśvari, a metallic icon of the consort of Rishabhavāhana dēvar set up by her. They were strung with 1375 pearls, 5 pōttis, 10 small gold flowers, 5 gold buds, one paḍukaṇ and one kokkuvāi; they weighed 123 kaḻanjus and cost 67 kāśus.

And finally, she gave to the image of Gaṇapati set up by her a sacred gold flower and a yajnōpavīta (pooṇ-nool) weighing 9 kaḻanjus and 2 manjāḍis.

Prithivī Mahādēvi, another queen of Rājarāja I, had set up an image of Śrīkaṇṭhamūrti, to whom she donated six ornaments, weighing 21 kaḻanjus.

Similarly Abhimānavalli, a queen of Rājarāja gifted two necklaces (tāḻ-vaḍam) with 518 pearls strung in clusters, weighing 5 kaḻanjus and 2 manjāḍis. They were valued at 3/4 kāśu.

The ministers and noblemen of the Royal Court did not lag behind in their contribution to the wealth of ornaments gifted to the bronzes of Rājarājēśvaram. Krishṇan Rāman, the builder of the compound wall of the main prākāra of the Rājarājēśvaram temple, gave the image of Ardhanārīśvarar set up by him 43 pieces of ornaments strung with 249 pearls, 73 crystals, 39 diamond crystals and 7 pōttis, all weighing together 180 kaḻanjus valued at 82 kāśus.

Another nobleman, Āditya Sūryan, who was the Chief Administrator of the temple, gave to the images of Nambi Ārūranār, Nangai Paravaiyār, Tirunāvukkaraiyar and Tirujnāna-Sambandar set up by him, 19 ornaments with rudrāksha strung on most of them, weighing 40 kaḻanjus. The citizens of Parakēsaripuram and Veṇṇi made a number of similar gifts with rudrāksha fixed on them to all the above mentioned deities; twelve pieces in all were gifted weighing 18½ kaḻanjus and valued at 9¼ kāśus. Ādityan Sūryan's gifts to the image of Periya Perumāḷ (a metallic representation of Rājarāja I) were four pieces of ornaments weighing 16 kaḻanjus and valued at 5 kāśus. Similarly he gifted to the image of Lōkamahādēvi (Olōgamādēvi), the principal queen of Rājarāja I, ten pieces of ornaments weighing about three kaḻanjus. Finally, Ādityan Sūryan gave a gift of rudrāksha, weighing 14 manjāḍis and valued at 1 kāśu, to the image of the prince-saint, Milāḍuḍaiyār.

Kōvan Aṇṇāmalai, who had set up the image of Bhringīśa, donated eight ornaments strung with 150 pearls, a rudrāksha, one bud in gold, a ḍāḷimbam, 2 paḍukaṇs and a kokkuvāi. They weighed 13 kaḻanjus and were of the value of 8½ kāśus.

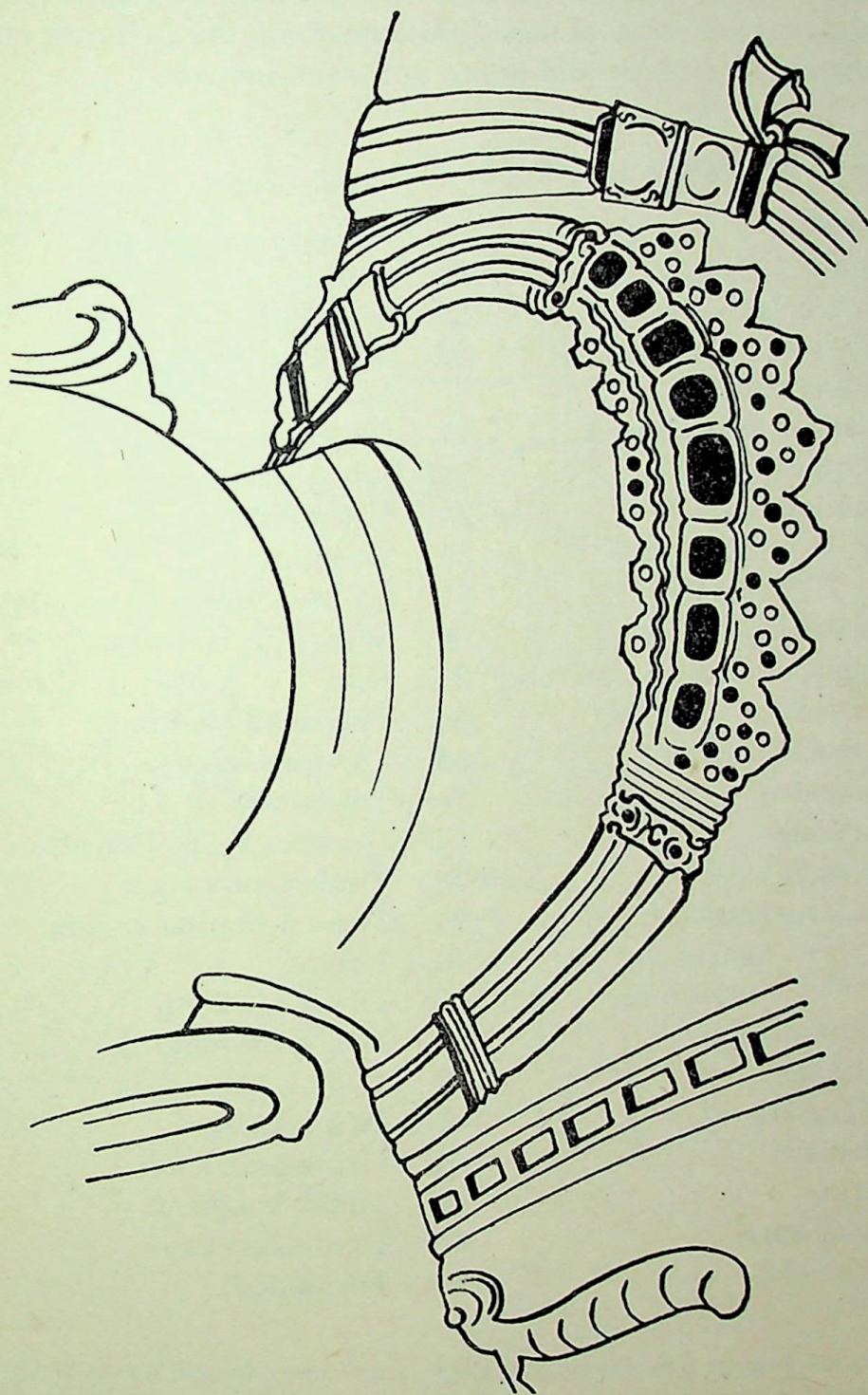
Īrāyiravan Pallavayan donated to Chaṇḍēśa, a metallic image set up by him, 3 pieces of ornaments, having 159 pearls, 9 corals, 8 lapis lazuli, 4 ḍāḷimbams, 2 paḍukaṇs and 2 kokkuvāis which weighed 12 kaḻanjus, costing 9 kāśus.

Another Chief, Vaḍugan (whose name though incomplete was evidently that of a nobleman from the Telugu country, as the name implies and, as the type of ornaments gifted by him would indicate) gave to the icon of Durgā Paramēśvari, set up by him, twenty-two pieces of jewellery and ornaments, prominent and significant among them being the vaḍuga vāḷi, an ear ornament, common in the Telugu region and hence so named. This and the other ornaments

had 1400 pearls strung on them and weighed 85 kaḻanjus, valued at 33 kāśus.

The gifts of the queens and noblemen of Rājarāja I made a huge total of 246 ornaments, which weighed 1946 kaḻanjus, and the gold element of these ornaments alone was assessed at 1390 kāśus. A total of 18,807 pearls were strung on these ornaments.

A laborious study of a mass of figures and technical terms reveals an astonishing variety of ornaments and jewels in vogue during the Chōḻa rule in South India. An elaborate tabulation made of these gifts (vide Appendix 15) enables us to get at the names of these ornaments, which, we may be sure, the princes, the queens, the noblemen and the courtiers and their spouses themselves wore and also gave to their gods and goddesses "who protected them through war and peace and raised them to unparallelled heights of glory" The elaborate ornaments which Lōkamahādēvi bestowed upon the icon of her creation, namely, Pichchadēvar and those that Panchavan Mahādēvi offered to Tanjai Viṭankar, the icon of her (the latter's) creation, were surpassed only by the jewellery given to the main deities of Rājarājēśvaram by Rājarāja himself or by his sister Kundavai. One often wonders what contributions Śembiyan Mahādēvi, the grantaunt of Rājarāja, would not have made in terms of metallic icons to the temple and jewels and ornaments for them, had she not died (A.D. 1006) while the temple was still under construction, (i.e.) eight years before its consecration.

Crowns of various types, forehead ornaments, earrings and ear tops, necklaces, necklets, neck chains, breast bands, breast plates, waist bands, armlets, wristlets,bands on the biceps, bands and chains over the below, shoulder strings and ornaments, kinkini (belled string worn just around the calf muscle), anklets, feet-bands, toe rings and finger rings and a variety of gold flowers are among the ornaments that we come across in these records. A number of technical terms are used, whose meanings in many cases are either totally unavailable or are vaguely discernible. This difficulty applies as much to the names of ornaments as to their constituent elements. Some examples of such terms are paḍukaṇ, kokkuvāi, tavalai-vāi, uruṭṭu, turuttu, ḍāḷimbam, kudambai, etc., a few of which have already been referred to (see p. 315 to 326).

L_8. A bejewelled necklace (Rājarājan period)

Appended below is a list of the various ornaments[1] which find mention in the inscriptions of Rājarājēśvaram. Some are currently in use, some are identifiable and many unfortunately not.

LIST OF ORNAMENTS AND JEWELS:

1. Ēkavalli
2. Kārai
3. Kachchōlam
4. Kaḷāvam or Kalāpam
5. Kaṇṭha-tuḍar
6. Kaṇṭha-nāṇ, puḷḷigai k.
7. Kaṇṭhikai
8. Kaṭakam, ratna k.
   muttu k.
   pavaḷa k.
9. Kombir-koḷgai
10. Kōṭpu or Koppu (an ear ornament)
11. Kumbhat-tagaḍu
12. Kudambai
13. Makuṭam
14. Mattagat-tagaḍu
15. Mōdiram, ratna m.
    navaratna m.
    muttin m.
16. Muttu-māttirai
17. Padakkam
18. Panchaśāri
19. Pāśamālai
20. Paṭṭam
21. Paṭṭaik-kārai
22. Pooṇ-nool
23. Por-pū, tiru-por-pū
24. Poṭṭu
25. Saptaśāri
26. Śiḍukku, Śonagan s.
    muttin s.
27. Śooḍagam, muttin s.
28. Śri bāhuvaḷayam
29. Śrīchhandam
30. Śrī-muḍi
31. Śrī-pāda śāyalam, vaiyira s.
32. Śūri, with rudrāksha
33. Śutti
34. Tāli, māṇikkattin t.
35. Tāli-maṇi-vaḍam
36. Tāḻ-vaḍam
37. Tagaḍu, Pachait-tagaḍu
38. Tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam
39. Tiru-ch-channa-vaḍam
40. Tirugu
41. Tiru-k-kāl-kārai
42. Tiru-k-kāl-mōdiram
43. Tiruk-k-kāl-vaḍam
44. Tiru-k-kārai
45. Tiru-k-kaik-kārai
46. Tiru-k-kambi
47. Tiru-makaram
48. Tiru-mālai

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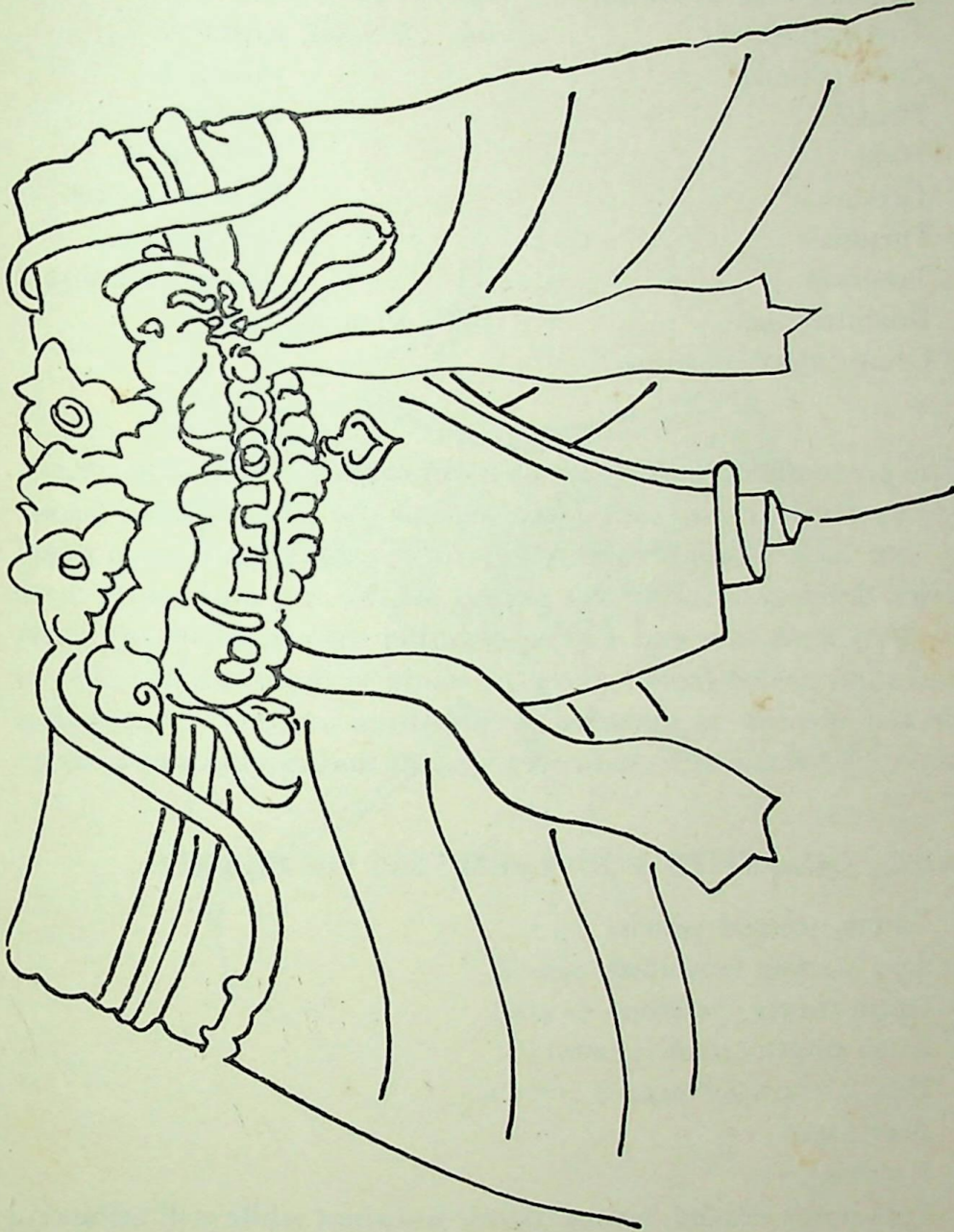
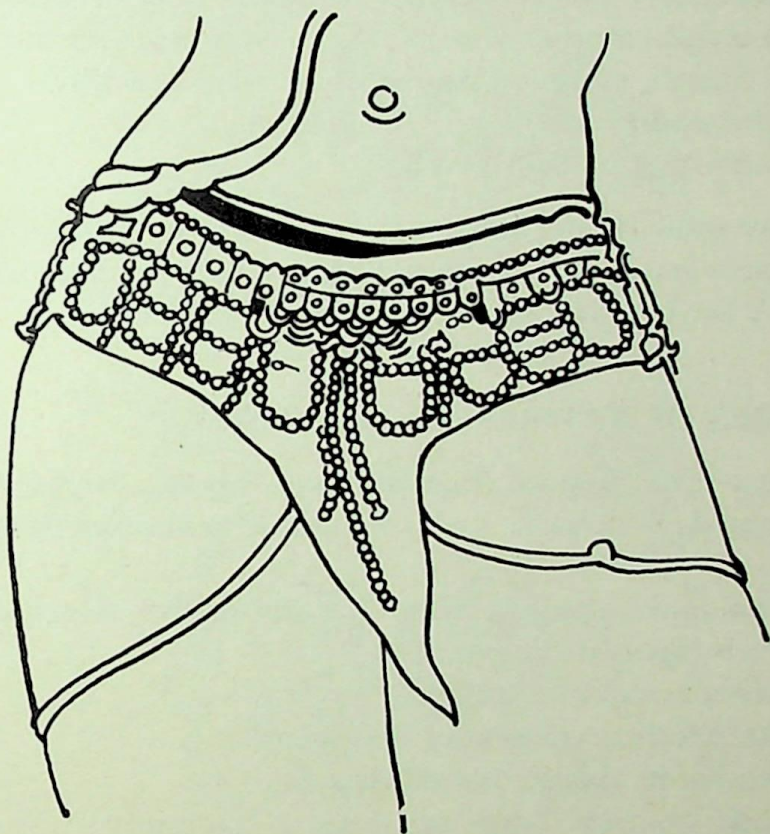
1. The following items are included among the jewels and ornaments, though they would fall under the category of decorative or ritual aids; they are—Ichchōpi-kai, Kapālam, Kuru-maḍal, Kuṟṟuḍaivāḷ, Veṇ-śāmarai, Maṇḍai, Vaṭṭil and Paradal.

L9. A waist-band or girdle with simha-mukha adornment

49. Tiru-nayanam
50. Tiru-p-paṭṭigai or Paṭṭigai
51. Tiru-vaḍik-kāl mōdiram
52. Tiru-vaḍik-kārai
53. Tiru-vaḍi-nilai
54. Tiruvāḷi
55. Tōḍu
56. Tūkkam
57. Turuttu
58. Triśaram
59. Udarabandha
60. Uruṭṭu, double uruṭṭu
61. Vaḍam
62. Vaḍuga vāḷi
63. Vāḷi
64. Vaḷayil, ratna v.
muttu v.
Iḍukku v.
tirukkai v.
Ponnin-paṭṭai-mēl-guṇḍu
vaittu-viḷakkina v.
65. Vīra-paṭṭam

The predominant constituent element in these ornaments, particularly in strings, chains and garlands, was the pearl, whose popularity with the jewel-maker was obviously due to the extensive pearl fisheries, developed during this period off the east and south coast of the deep peninsular end. Piecing together the categories of pearls in use in this period from references made to them, we are able to locate and identify as many as twenty-three varieties. Appended below is a list of the different types, grades and qualities of pearls:

GRADES, QUALITIES AND VARIETIES OF PEARLS:

1. Vaṭṭam (round pearls)
2. Aṇu Vaṭṭam (roundish pearls)
3. Oppu muttu (polished pearls)
4. Kuru muttu (small pearls)
5. Paḻa muttu (old pearls)
6. Nimbōḷam
7. Payiṭṭam
8. Ippi-paṟṟu arāvina muttu (pearls polished while still adhering to the shell)
9. Śivanda neer (pearls of red water)
10. Kuḷirnda neer (pearls of brilliant water)
11. Pearls with varai (with lines)

L_{10}. A pearl strung waist-band

12. Pearls with karai (with stains)
13. Pearls with kuru (with red dots)
14. Pearls with śupperiam (ṡubrahm) (with white specks)
15. Pearls with tirangaḷ (with wrinkles)
16. Śappatti
17. Śakkaṭṭu
18. Karaḍu (crude pearls)
19. Punich-chey muttu (pearls resembling toddy in colour)
20. Tōl-teynda muttu (whose surfaces were worn or rubbed out)
21. Tōl-iḍanda muttu (whose surfaces were cracked)
22. Ambumudu
23. Irraṭṭai muttu (twin pearls)

We are similarly able to identify at least eleven different varieties of diamonds and twelve varieties of rubies. Possibly there were many others: A list of some of the types is given below:

VARIETIES OF VAYIRAM (DIAMONDS)

1. Maṭṭa tārai vayiram (diamond with smooth edges)
2. Maṭṭa tārai śavakka vayiram (square and smooth edged diamond)
3. Maṭṭa tārai śappatti vayiram (flat and smooth edged diamond)
4. Porivu (spotted diamond)
5. Murivu (cracked diamond)
6. Rakta-bindu (red-spotted diamond)
7. Kāka-bindu (black spotted diamond)
8. Venda vayiram (burnt or burning diamond)
9. Tooya vayiram (pure diamond)
10. Uruḷai vayiram (round diamond)
11. Pandasaram

VARIETIES OF MĀṆIKKAM (RUBIES)

1. Halāhalam guṇaviyan (a type known as halāhalam of superior class)
2. Kōmalam (smooth ruby)

L_{11}. General ornamentation of a female deity

3. Halāhalam (plain) (standard halāhalam)
4. Neela-gandhi (bluish ruby)
5. Taḷam (unpolished ruby)
6. Kuḷiru (ruby with cavities)
7. Praharam (ruby with cuts)
8. Vejjam (ruby with holes)
9. Lasuni (ilāsunam) (ruby with white specks)
10. Trāsam (ruby with flaws)
11. Kar-paṟṟu-uḍaiya māṇikkam (ruby still adhering to the kal i.e. the ore)

From one of the inscriptions[1] relating to gifts of ornaments (this refers to the gifts of Rājarāja I to the Paramasvāmin of the Rājarājēśvaram temple), we get to know that a number of rings were presented, amongst which were four that had all the nine gems (navaratnam) set in them, viz., diamond, sapphire, pearl, topaz, cinnamon stone, coral, emerald, lapis lazuli and ruby. We find the term rattinattin tiru-ābharaṇangaḷ[2] used in this record to describe bejewelled ornaments, to distinguish them from mere gold ornaments. (Hence we have made a distinction between jewels meaning rattinattin tiruābharaṇangaḷ and mere gold ornaments, i.e. tiruābharaṇangaḷ). We also incidentally get the Tamil names of all the nine gems.
They are–

1. Vairam or vayiram (diamond)
2. Neelam (sapphire)
3. Muttu (pearl)
4. Pushyarāga i.e. pushparāga (topaz)
5. Gōmēdakam (cinnamon stone)
6. Pavaḷam (coral)
7. Maragatam (emerald)
8. Vaiḍūryam (lapis lazuli), and
9. Māṇikkam (Ruby[3])

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1. SII, II, 93.
2. Rattina jewel; tiru sacred; ābharaṇa ornaments.
3. Middle Chōḷa Temples, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, p. 57.

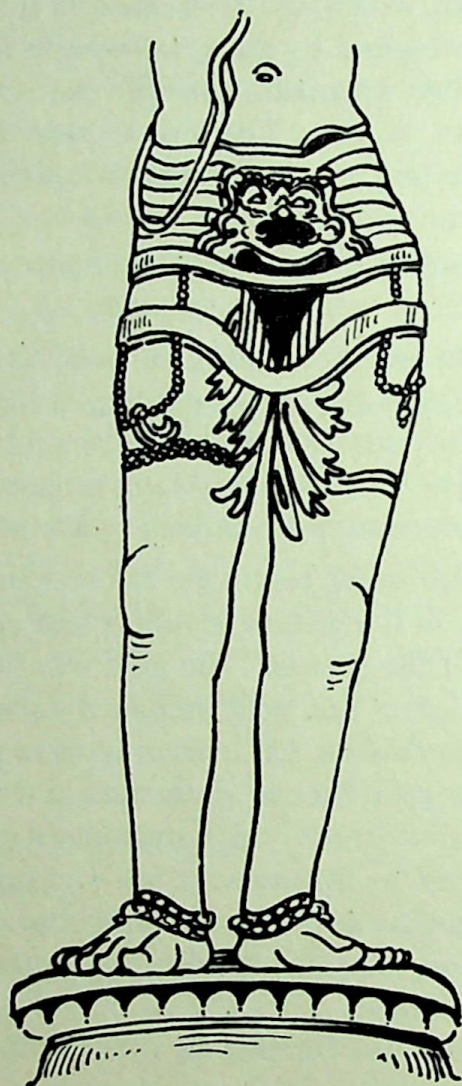
The mode of weighing and assessing the value of both gold and pearls in ornaments is also laid down in the records which deal with gifts. Invariably the unit of weight finds mention in the donations. Gold was weighed by the stone (kal) used in the city (kuḍingai) known as Āḍavallān, which was the name of Naṭarāja, and the jewels (ratnangaḷ) were weighed by the jewel-weight (kāśu-k-kal) named after Dakshiṇa-Mēru Viṭankan, possibly the processional deity of the Rājarājēśvaram temple. The grants and donations (further) stipulate that those jewels in which the threads (śaraḍu), the frame (śaṭṭam), the copper nails (śeppāṇi), the lac (arakku) and the pinju form an integral part of the jewellery and hence cannot be separately weighed, should be weighed *with* them.

> "pon āḍavallān yennum kuḍingaik-kallāl nirai eḍuttum ratnangaḷ śaraḍum-śaṭṭamum-cheppāṇigaḷum arakkum pinjum nīkki niraiuḷḷana nirai eḍuttum arakkum pinjum kooḍa ratnangaṭṭi vēru niraiyariya uṇṇādana arakkum pinjum uṭpaḍa Dakshiṇa-mēru-viṭankan ennum kāśuk-kallāl nirai eḍuttum...."[1]

There is an interesting reference to the standard for assessing the purity of gold. In the gifts of jewellery and gold ornaments that Rājarāja I made to the temple[2], the gold was said to be a quarter inferior in fineness to the gold standard called Daṇḍavāṇi (i.e. Daṇḍapāṇi) (daṇḍavāṇikku kāl māṟṟut-taṇṇiya pon).

Either in the Royal palace or in the sacred temple, there was set apart a Department of Jewels which took into it gifts and donations, and treasures seized by Rājarāja in his war campaigns. There is reference to the mūla-ratna-bhaṇḍārattār, the chief treasurers of the jewels, who often supplied funds (mudal) from out of the gold (mādu) in their custody.

We may conclude this Chapter by running through the description, as briefly as possible, of the more frequently occurring and the more important ornaments and jewels. Though such details are not available in respect of many items, they are, where available, elaborate. Under each item of jewellery, selectively one illustrative

1. SII, II, 8, para I.
2. SII, II, 3 para 4, 5.
3. SII, II, no. 3.

L_{12}. Waist and feet ornamentation of a male deity

sample is taken reproducing the description given in the relevant inscriptional record. In Appendix 15 already referred to is given a complete list of the number of pieces of each type of ornament or jewellery that was gifted to the deities of their choice or devotion.

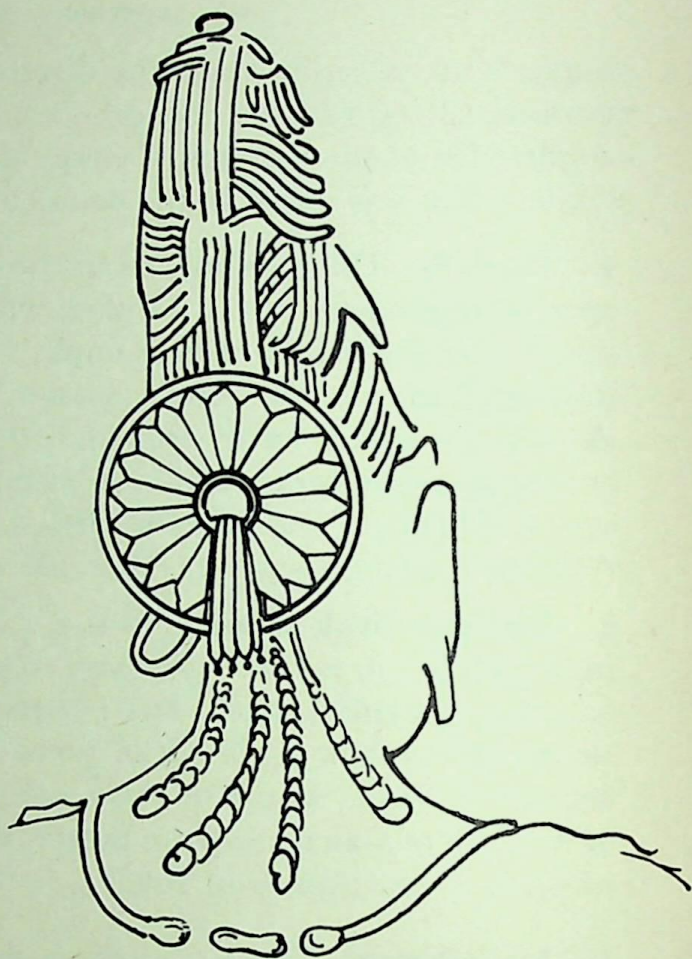
1. **Ēkavalli:** This is a single-strand bejewelled string or chain. This term is equivalent to the Sanskrit expression ēkāvaḷi meaning a single-stranded vaḍam. For example, Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja I, gave to the metallic image of her mother (Tammai) an ēkāvaḷi on which were strung thirty-five old pearls (including anuvaṭṭam, oppu muttu and kuru muttu), two corals, two lapis lazuli and a ḍāḷimbam[1], a paḍukaṇ and a kokkuvāi. The neck-chain weighed 4 kaḻanjus and 8⁴/₁₀ manjāḍis and was valued at 11 kāśus.[2]

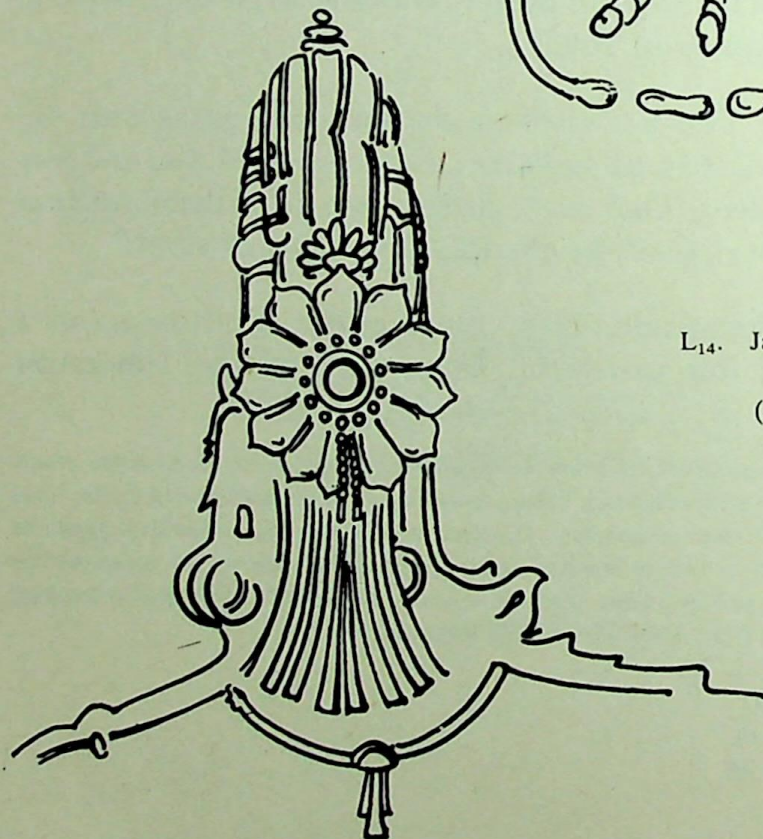
2. **Kārai or tiruk-kārai:** This is a collar in gold, evidently solid, unlike a chain or necklace. We have an instance of a collar made of 2 kaḻanjus, 7 manjāḍis and 1 kunri of gold including a tiru (or spiral) strung on it.[3] This was a gift of queen Panchavan Mahādēvi to the consort of Tanjai Aḻagar set up by her. She also gave a similar kārai to the icon of Gaṇapati set up by her. With the screw fixed on it, it weighed 11¼ kaḻanjus of gold.[4]

3. **Kachchōlam:** This is a girdle in the form of a snake worn by Śiva, Naṭarāja, Bhikshāṭana and other ascetic forms of Śiva and was often made of silver. One such girdle given to Rishabhavāhana dēvar by Chōḻa Mahādēvi weighed 29¼ kaḻanjus of silver.[5]

4. **Kaḷāvam (or kalāpam):** This is also a girdle. We come across a few examples of this ornament. One was a gift by Īrāyiravan

1. Ḍāḷimbam or tāḷimbam is derived from (i.e. a tadbhava or corruption of) dā-dima, which means a pomegranate; the Kannaḍa, Telugu and Oriyā equivalents are also dā-limba. This term contiues to be in vogue even today. This decorative element was evidently shaped like a pomegranate and, in fact, in one description the pistils and stamen are mentioned as represented by thin nail-like wires, referred to in the inscription as Ḍāḷimbattu īkkālāṇi, nails like the legs of a fly. They were so thin and fine.
2. SII, II, no. 6 para 7, p. 73.
3. SII, II, no. 51, p. 44.
4. SII, II no. 46, para 46.
5. SII, II, no. 51, para 48.

L$_{13}$. Jaṭā-makuṭa with śiras-chakra

L$_{14}$. Jaṭā-makuṭa with śiras-chakra

(another style)

Pallavayan, a perundanam of Rājarāja I, to the image of Chaṇḍēś-vara dēvar set up by him[1]. and another was a gift of Chōḷa Mahādēvi to the image of Rishabhavāhana dēvar set up by her.[2] The former consisted of three strings (vaḍams) which were strung with 93 pearls of various grades and types (perhaps 31 to a strand or string), six corals, six lapis lazuli, two ḍāḷimbams each of which consisted of three pieces soldered together, besides a paḍukaṇ and a kokkuvāi. With lac it weighed 8¼ kaḻanjus, 1 manjāḍi and 1 kunri and was worth 7¹/₂₀ kāśus. The other one weighed 4¾ kaḻanjus, 3 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and was worth 11 kāśus. This ornament had ninety-nine pearls of various types, six corals, two gold pins, two ḍāḷimbams, each of which consisted of three pieces soldered together, and two paḍukaṇs. A third example of a kaḷāvam is found among the jewels gifted to the image of Sūrya by Kōvan Aṇṇāmalai already referred to.[3] It weighed, with lac, six kaḻanjus and four manjāḍis and was worth 8 kāśus. Ninety pearls of various types were strung on it, besides six corals, six lapis lazuli, two paḷigais, each of which consisted of three pieces soldered together and a paḍukaṇ and a kokkuvāi.

5. Kaṇṭha-tuḍar: This is a necklace of one or more parallel chains held together by clasps at the ends. An example of it is found among the ornaments that Kundavai, sister of Rājarāja I, had gifted in the third year of the reign of Rājēndra I to the image of Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Tanjai Viṭankar (both the images were set up by her). It was of three chains soldered into one piece and weighed 21 kalanjus of gold[4]. (p. 313). An identical piece of necklace (kaṇṭha-tuḍar) was among the gifts of Kundavai to Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Āḍavallān Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, comprising three chains soldered into one, but weighing almost thrice as heavy (62 kaḻanjus) (p. 311)

6. Kaṇṭha-nāṇ: This is a type of bejewelled necklace, with various

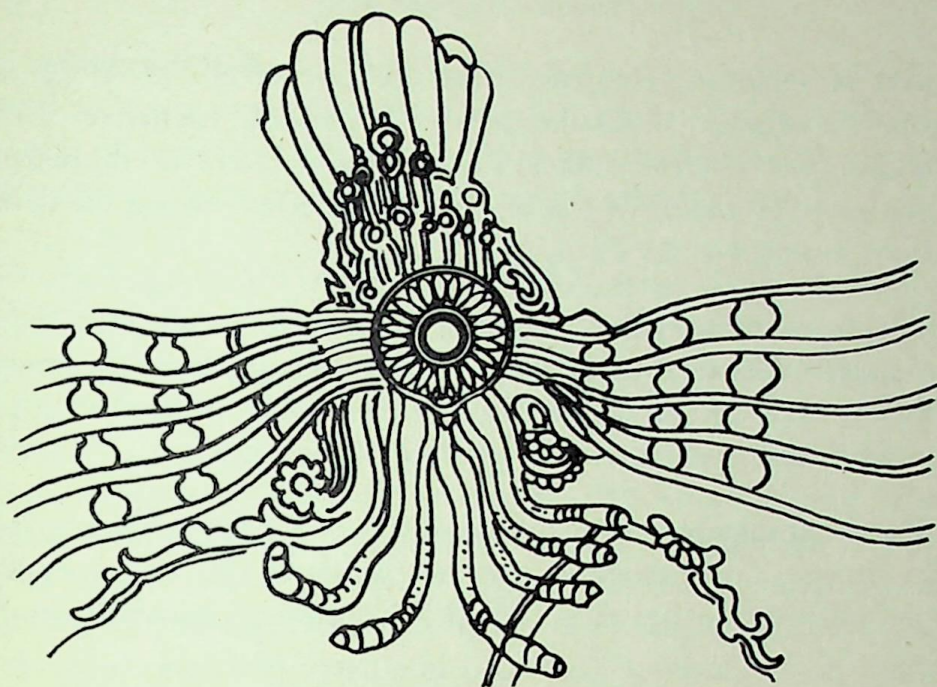
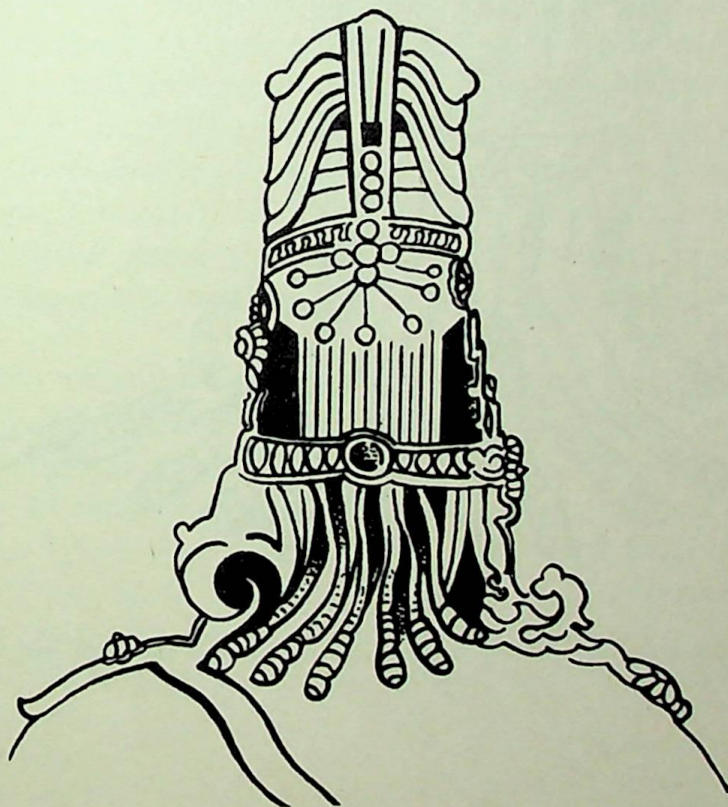
1. SII, II, no. 55, para 8.
2. SII, II, no. 46, para 19.
3. SII, II, No. 57, para 9.
4. SII, II, No. 8, para 16.

combinations of jewels strung on or set in them. A number of such necklaces were gifted by Rājarāja to the temple from the treasures seized by him from the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas as well as from his own 'treasures'[1]. It is evidently a loose gold ring round the neck with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, kōmaḷam etc. occasionally with a centre piece set with jewels (ratna paṭṭigai). There is reference to a type of kanṭha-nāṇ known as puḷḷigai-kanṭha-nāṇ (perhaps a composite necklace, but whose exact meaning is not clear). Evidently, it was a necklace of three or four parallel strands running together, as there is mention of three nāṇs in one such necklace.[2] Yet another kanṭha-nāṇ had a kaṇḍu[3] (a bundle, or bunch or ball) studded with gems.[4] A further example is of Kōvan Aṇṇāmalai making a gift of kaṇṭha-nāṇ with a rudrāksha attached, apart from a ḍālimbam and a paḍukkaṇ (p. 324).

7. Kanṭhikā: This is again another form of necklace, or chain worn round the neck. One such piece was gifted by Āditya Sūryan to the image of Tirunāvukkaraiyar. This had a rudrāksha fixed on a śūri and the whole piece weighed about 5 kaḻanjus, costing 8 kāśus.[5]

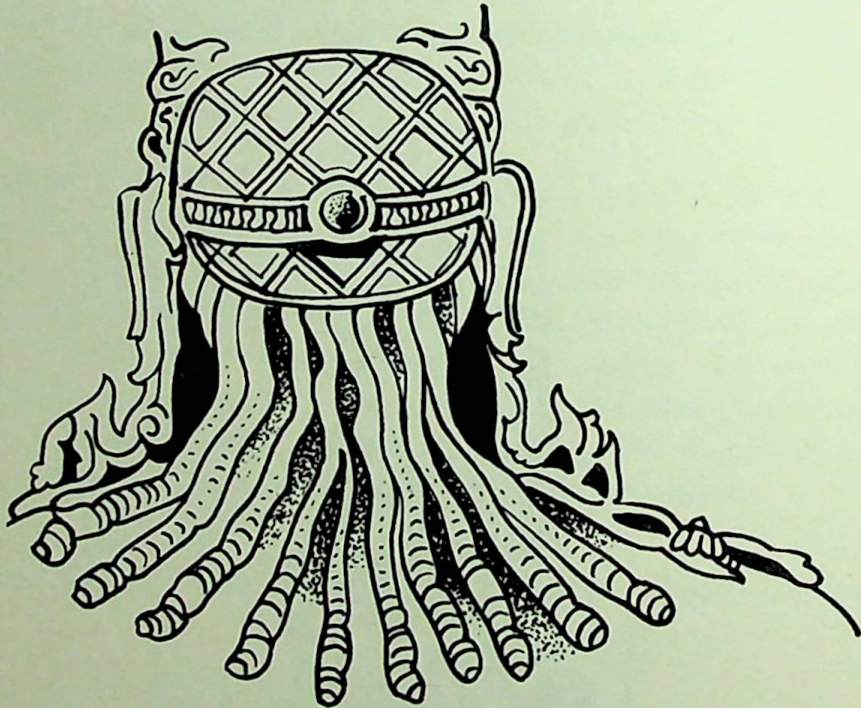
8. Kaṭakam: This is a plain gold or bejewelled bracelet, very much like a vaḷayil; but is often embellished with various types of gems, all of one type or mixed. Thus there is the ratna kaṭakam[6] (an instance of which contains 36 diamonds, 25 rubies and 10 emeralds set on it weighing 14½ kaḻanjus, 1 manjāḍi and 1 kunri); the pavaḷa-kaṭakam[7] made of corals exclusively, a specimen of which contained ten corals weighing inclusive of gold 20 kaḻanjus, 9³⁄₁₀ manjāḍis and worth 38 kāśus, and the muttu-kaṭakam[8] (pearl bracelets).

9. Kombir-koḷgai: This is perhaps a ring or cover for the kombu

1. SII, II, No. 93.
2. SII, II, No. 93, paras 8, 9, 10.
3. Cf pu-kandu=flower bunch or bouquet.
4. SII, II, No. 93, para 9.
5. SII, II, No. 38, para 32.
6. SII, II, No. 93, para 24.
7. SII, II, No. 51, para 39.
8. SII, II, No. 8, p. 18.

L_{15}. Stylised jaṭā-chakra and peacock-feather crown

L_{16}. Makuṭa with Kēśa-bandha and jaṭās flowing over the nape

(or tusk) of Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār of the parivārālaya. A gift of Rājarāja I, it weighed 14¾ kaḻanjus and 1 manjāḍi, inclusive of the gold and the lac, besides 8 rubies, 2 crystals and 14 crystal diamonds fastened and 119 pearls of five different varieties strung on it. Its value was assessed at 23 kāśus.[1]

10. Koṭpū: Its exact meaning is not known; it could refer to an ear-ornament. Kōvan Aṇṇāmalai gave one such piece to the image of Sūrya set up by him; it was strung on threads of gold and weighed one kaḻanju and one kunri and was worth 3 kāśus.[2]

11. Kumbhat-tagaḍu: An example of this was a front plate gifted to the image of Gaṇapati in the parivārālaya; it had a crystal fastened on it with pinju. It weighed 2 kaḻanjus, 4 manjāḍis and I kunri.[3]

L_{17}. Kēśa-bandha, and flowing twisted jaṭās rolling over the nape and back

1. SII, II, No. 86, para 5.
2. SII, II, No. 57, p. 8.
3. SII, II, No. 86, para 7.

12. Kudambai or tiruk-kudambai: This is an earring and the terms were applied perhaps to an earring of a particular shape, but, in spite of repeated reference to it in the inscriptions, we are unable to gather a clear picture of the shape of this ornament.

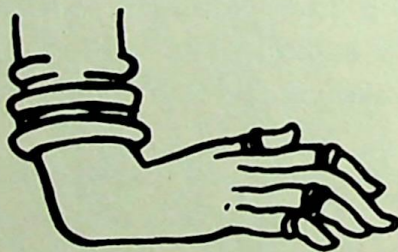
13. Makuṭa: This is one of the few terms which survives even today with the meaning unchanged. An elaborate and bejewelled crown, makuṭa is best illustrated by an example from the gifts of Rājarāja to the image of Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar.[1] It had 852 diamonds set in it, of which 636 were smooth-edged (maṭṭadārai-śavakkam), 32 were flat with smooth edges (maṭṭa-dārai-śappadi) and the remaining were of various types (that is, those with spots, with cracks, with red dots, with black dots etc.). The 852 diamonds weighed 7¾ kaḻanjus, 4⁴/₁₀ manjāḍis. The crown had 309 small and large rubies, which in turn consisted of 125 stones known as superior (guṇaviyan) halahalam, 122 standard halahalams, 41 kōmaḷams (smooth rubies), 11 nīlagandhis (blue rubies) and 10 taḷams (unpolished rubies)–(including those as had cavities (kuriva), cuts, holes, white specks (lāsuni), flaws (trāsa) and such as still adhered to the ore.' These rubies weighed 14¾ kaḻanjus, 2⁸/₁₀ manjāḍis. Besides, the crown was set or strung with 669 large and small pearls of fourteen different varieties weighing 36 kaḻanjus, 1 manjāḍi and 1 kunri. The basic metal (gold) in the crown weighed 348½ kaḻanjus and 3/10 manjāḍi. Altogether, the crown weighed 407 kaḻanjus and 9 manjāḍis and was valued at 5000 kāśus.

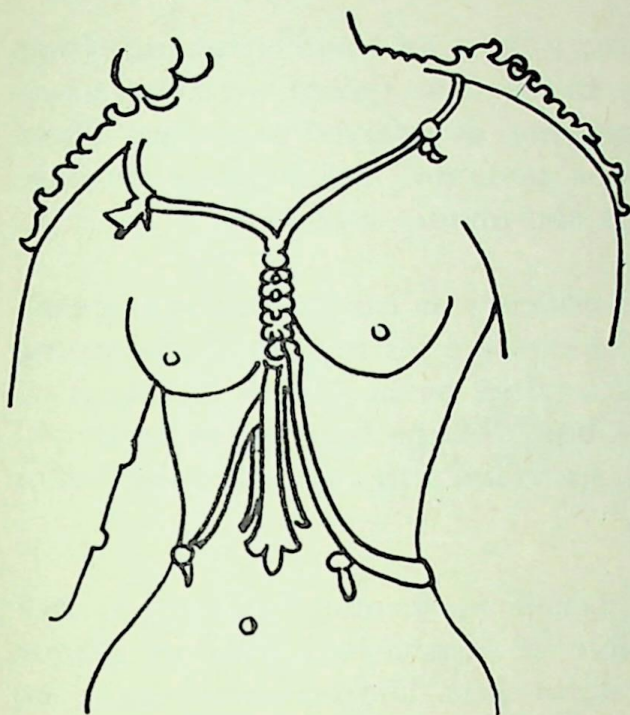
Another makuṭa weighing 229¼ kaḻanjus and valued at 700 kāśus, with 526 diamond crystals, 227 crystals, 16 pearls set and 385 pearls strung was gifted by Kundavai to Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Tanjai Viṭankar set up by her.[2] It had a vīra-pāṭṭa (a plate of 'victory' or front plate) on both sides of which were two vaḍams (strings) of pearls. It had a vāi-vaḍam (perhaps a pearl suspension emerging from the mouth of the vīra-paṭṭa), four śavi (or bundles) of pearls (consisting of a single string), two single tūkkams (pen-

1. SII, II, 7, para 3.
SII, II, 8, para 25.

dants) and three strings on the ornamental curves (kōḍam) and on the karaṇḍigai (meaning not clear).

14. Mattagat-tagaḍu: This finds mention in only one place and is evidently a forehead plate (mattaga = mastaka = mastishka = forehead; tagaḍu = plate). A gift made by Rājarāja I to the Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār of the parivārālaya included this item, weighing ten kaḻanjus of gold.[1]

15, 42 and 51. Mōdiram, tiruk-kāl-mōdiram, tiru-vaḍikkāl mōd-iram: This term continues even today to bear the same meaning viz., a ring. In fact, it is used to cover the rings worn on the fingers as well as on the toes; a ring worn on the fingers went under the appellation of a mere mōdiram, whereas the ring worn on the toe was called tiru-vaḍik-kāl-mōdiram or tiruk-kāl-mōdiram, an example of which is found among the gifts of Kundavai to the icon of Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Tanjai Viṭankar. She presented ten

L_{18}. Finger rings and kaṭakas

1. SII, II, 87, p. 13.

L_{19}. Vaikākshaka (front view) (See shoulder ornamentation)

L_{20}. Vaikākshaka (rear view)

such toe rings.[1]

A bejewelled ring was called a ratna mōdiram[2] (five such rings were presented by Rājarāja). In the same record we come across four rings having all the nine gems, as referred to earlier. These rings were known as nava-ratna mōdiram.[3] Besides these we have many instances of pearl rings also (muttin mōdiram).

16. Muttin-māttirai: This is evidently an ear-ring made of pearls (mātrā in Sanskrit meaning aṇ earring). Set in gold, it was strung with a śappatti pearl and was gifted by nobleman Vaḍugan to Durgā Paramēśvari set up by him.[4] All the four pieces presented weighed a quarter of a kaḻanju each (and were valued around 7/20th of a kāśu each).

17. Padakkam: This is a medallion, forming part of a neck ornament generally as a piece of ornamented plate or plaque suspended over the neck, breasts or chest. The term is in vogue even today with the same connotation. It can also be a breast plate and form the main ornament. Its surface is studded with jewels.[5]

18. Panchaśari: This is one of a family of multi-stranded necklaces, with seven strands here (sapta-śāri), five strands (pancha-śāri) or three strands (tri-śāri i.e., tri-saram) (see saptaśāri at sl. 25, p. 204). In the Panchaśāri type of necklace, made basically of pearls, it had five strands of strings as the name indicates. We may quote an example of it from the gifts made by Chōla Mahādēvi to the metallic icon of Rishabhavāhana dēvar set up by her.[6] 243 pearls of the usual varieties were strung on the five strands, besides ten corals, two gold pins, two ḍāḷimbams, each of which consisted of five pieces (i.e. a piece each to a strand of the necklace) soldered together. A paḍukaṇ also was was attached.

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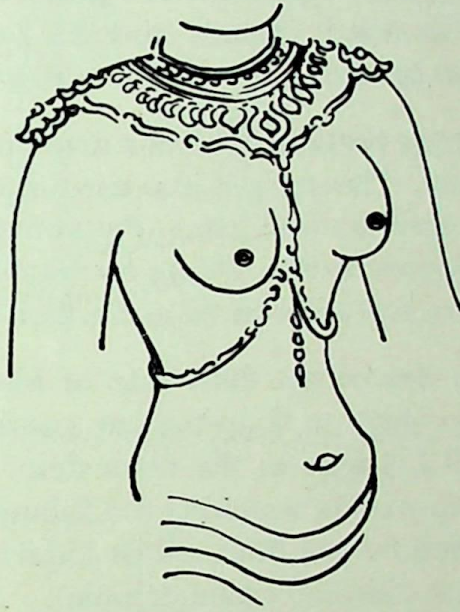
1. SII, II, 8, p. 23.
2. SII, II, 93, paras 37 to 41.
3. SII, II, 93, paras 42 to 45.
4. SII, II, 79, pp. 9 to 12.
5. SII, II, 93, para 16.
6. SII, II, 46, para 20, p. 188.

L_{21}. Vaikākshaka with chest and shoulder ornamentation (another view)

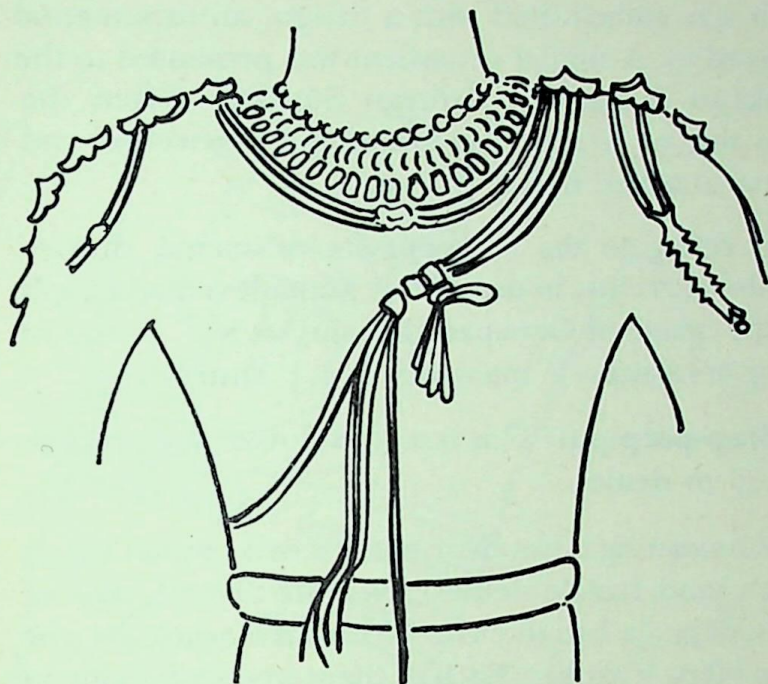
19. Pāśamālai (Bhāsamālā or amśumālā—a garland of rays ?). The only instance of this ornament is found in the gifts that Kōvan Aṇṇāmalai alias Kēraḷāntaka Villupparaiyan, a perundanam of the minor treasure of Rājarāja I, made to the icon of Sūrya dēva set up by him.[1] This garland, hung low down (kīḻ-niyaḍattu), had seventeen marriage badges (tāli) strung on it, with two iḍaikkaṭṭus (front plates), two pāligais which consisted of three pieces soldered together, four kaḷḷipūs,[2] five paḍukaṇs and one kokkuvāi. The garland was strung (fastened) with 117 pearls of various categories, 33 crystals, 21 diamond crystals and 23 pottis. It weighed 10 kalanjus, 9 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and was valued at 16$^{1}/_{20}$ kāśus.

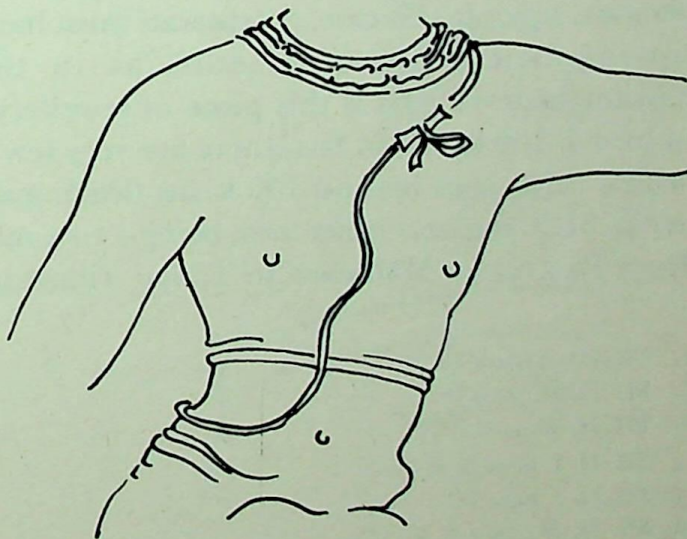
20. Paṭṭam or tirup-paṭṭam: This is a diadem or tiara, an expression currently in use. This term is also used in such combinations as Paṭṭābhishēkam (coronation) and Paṭṭa-mahishi (the principal queen) and symbolises royalty. While no detailed description of it is available, there are two references to it which are quoted below:

(i) 'On the 14th day of the 26th year of his reign, the Lord Śrī Rājarāja dēva gave a tirup-paṭṭam (sacred diadem) of gold weighing 499 kaḻanjus to the main deity' of the temple[3]

(ii) Another tirup-paṭṭam weighing 8½ kaḻanjus and 2 manjāḍis of gold was gifted by one Marudattūr Uḍaiyān to Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār of the ālayam[4] (main temple).

21. Paṭṭaik-kārai: Kārai would seem to be a general expression meaning a firm ring or strip of gold closely fitting the body. The term 'kārai' occurs in combination with terms referring to various parts of the body, like kāl-karai (kāl = leg) and kaik-kārai (kai = arm). Paṭṭaikkārai means a neck-ring which often carried the tāli (marriage badge). One such paṭṭaik-kārai was presented to the icon of Nangai Paravaiyār (one of the images of the Śaiva saints set up by nobleman Ādityan Sūryan) by the citizens of

1. SII, II, 57, para 7, p. 227.
2. Kalli = cactus; pū = flower.
3. SII, II, I para 5.
4. SII, II, 87, p. 4.

L_{22}. Torso donning shoulder ornaments, necklaces, pooṇ-nool and udara-bandha

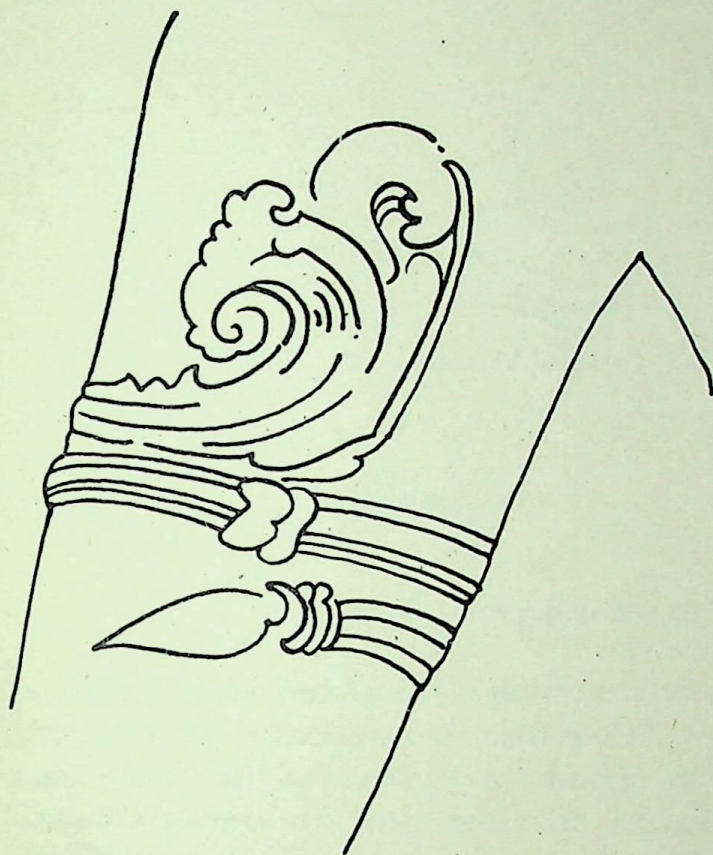
L_{23}. Torso donning shoulder ornaments etc. (another view)

Parakēsaripuram; it was embellished with a tirugu, an ornamental screw, already referred to. A similar ornament was presented to the image of Tiruveṇkāṭṭu Nangai by Ādityan Sūryan[1]. Often the paṭṭaik-kārai had a tiru or tirugu[2] (an ornament bejewelled and mounted on a screw) attached to it.

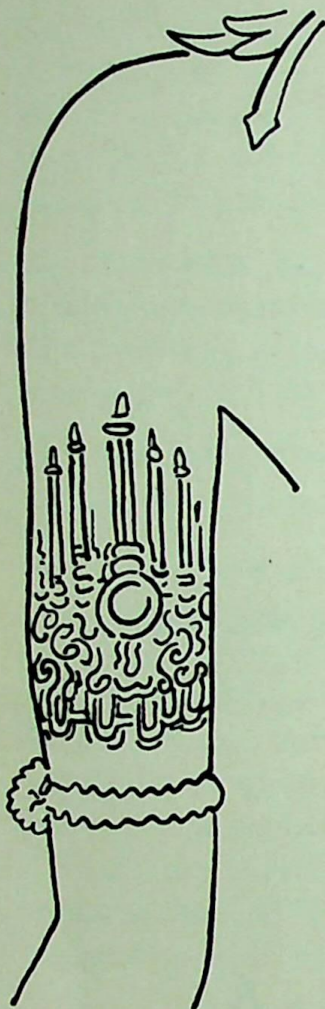
22. Pooṇ-nool: his refers to the yajnyōpavīta or sacred thread. This expression is also currently in use. Chōḻa Mahādēvi made a gift of a pooṇ-nool to the image of Gaṇapati that she set up[3]. It was of solid gold weighing 6 kaḻanjus 2 manjāḍis and 1 kunri.

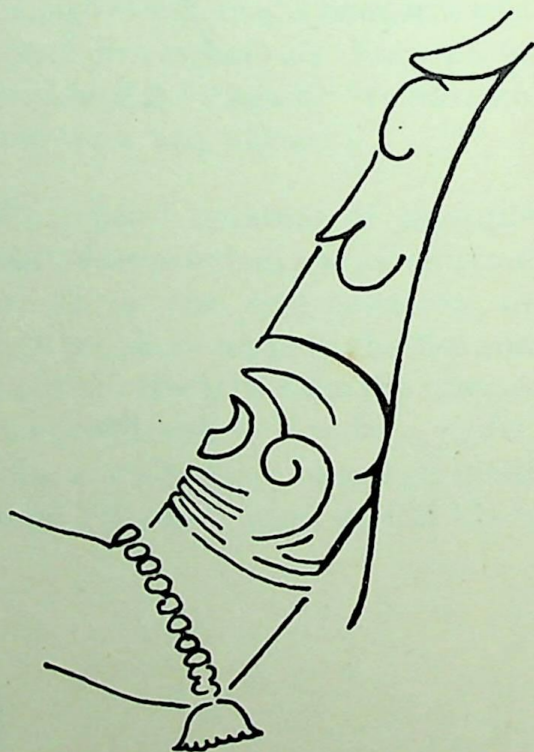
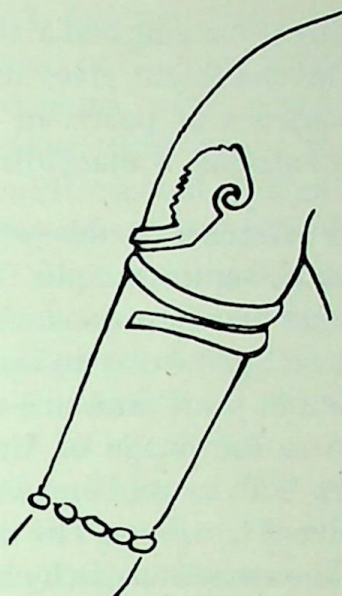
23. Porp-pū or Tirup-porp-pū: This is a gold flower and an item of common donation to deities.

24. Poṭṭu: Its exact meaning is not clear but it seems certain that it was worn by women (and female deities) over the arm. A pair of poṭṭus was gifted by Rājarāja I to the icon of Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar. Each of them weighed about 18 kaḻanjus of gold. A huge ruby was evidently fixed in the centre and weighed 1 manjāḍi and 1 kunri. On the pair were strung 137 and 143 pearls of various varieties weighing 7¾ kaḻanjus, 4 manjāḍis and 1 kunri; and 8 kaḻanjus and 6 manjāḍis respectively. Each poṭṭu weighed about 26 kaḻanjus and was valued at 80 kāśus[4]. We have an instance[5] where the poṭṭu is strung on a nāṇ (chain).

25. Saptaśari: This is essentially a pearl necklace of multiple strands, seven in this case. A saptaśāri must have had a pride of place among bejewelled ornaments, as in the enumeration of Lōkamahādēvi's gifts is this piece of jewellery topping the list and valued at 100 kāśus. In fact, there are very few gifts from the queens whose value goes beyond 100 kāśus (leaving aside Kundavai's gifts, see p. 312), the only other item being a tiru-mālai (a sacred garland) from Panchavan Mahādēvi to Tanjai Viṭankar valued at 125 kāśus

1. SII, II, 43, para 18, 23.
2. SII, II, 48, para 25.
3. SII, II, 46, para 63.
4. SII, II, 7, para 13 & 14.
5. SII, II, 8, para 18.
6. SII, II, 34, para 9, p. 145.

L_{24}. Poṭṭu (Vangi)

L_{25}. Poṭṭu

L_{26}. Poṭṭu and Vājibandha

L_{27}. Poṭṭu and Vājibandha

L_{28}. Poṭṭu and Vājibandha (Simpler design)

(p. 316). It is one of a family of pearl necklaces where we come across such ones as sapta-śari, pancha-śari and tri-śāri (or triśaram). An illustration can be cited from the list of ornaments gifted by Lōkamāhādēvi to the metallic image of Pich-chadēvar (Bhikshāṭanar) set up by her in the Rājarājēśvaram temple.[1] This necklace was in seven strings, strung with a total of 372 pearls which again were of the following varieties—round pearls, roundish pearls, polished pearls, small pearls, sappati, sakkaṭṭu, crude pearls, nimbōḷam, payiṭṭam, punchchay (pearls resembling toddy in colour), tōl-teynda and tōl iḍanda pearls (i.e. pearls whose surface was worn out and those whose surface was cracked), pearls of the śivanda-neer variety (red-water pearls) and old (seasoned) pearls. Besides pearls, there were two corals and two lapis lazuli fixed on each strand, making a total of fourteen of each. Possibly the seven strands were held together over the chest by two plaques (or plates, iḍaikkaṭṭu) bestriding the strands. On them were fastened (taḍavik-kaṭṭina) eight crystals, eight pōttis, one 'eye' (paḍukkaṇ), one hook (kokkuvāi) and two ḍāḷimbams each of which consisted of seven pieces soldered together. Evidently this means

1. SII, II, 34, para 9, p. 145.

that each of these seven pieces was attached at the rate of one to each of the seven strands. This ornament gives us an idea of at least twenty-three different varieties of pearls in vogue in the Chōḻa period. It weighed 36¾ kaḻanjus, 3 manjāḍis and 1 kunri.

26. Śiḍukku: There are references to this ornament in at least two inscriptions[1] at the Rājarājēśvaram temple. The meaning of the term śiḍukku is not clear nor do we know on what part of the body it was worn. It seems, however, that it was an ornament worn only by women. One such śiḍukku in pearl (muttuch-chiḍukku) was gifted by Panchavan Mahādēvi to the image of Umā Paramēśvari (the consort of Tanjai Aḻagar). With its gold and 18 pearls, it weighed 2 kaḻanjus and 1 kunri (value 47/20 kāśus). The other reference is to a special type of śiḍukku known as Śōnagach-chiḍukku. Perhaps the śiḍukku was fashioned after the style then prevalent among the Śōnakas,[2] apparently a reference to the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs. Both the pieces were presented by Rājarāja and both of them were set with nine rubies and nine emeralds.

27. Śooḍagam: Generally called muttin śooḍagam, it is a bracelet of pearls. A pair of them was gifted by Panchavan Mahādēvi to Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Tanjai Aḻagar. One of them may be described below: Each one weighed 24¼ kaḻanjus and was worth 30 kāśus.[3]

A pair of śooḍagams was gifted by Rājarāja to Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, each piece valued at 800 kāśus. They were heavy pieces weighing 85 and 90 kaḻanjus respectively and were set with diamonds of different varieties and rubies. The term 'śooḍagam' is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit word Chūḍikā or Chūḍā, meaning a bangle[4]. They were perhaps pearl

1. SII, II, 51, para 39 and SII, II, 93, para 835, 36.
2. Śōnagan is evidently derived from Jōnaka or Yavanaka, a Greek or broadly a man from the West Asian region. One of the perundanams in Rājarāja I's court was a Śonakan who bore (and perhaps took domicile in Chōḻa Country and adopted) the name of Śavūr Paranjōti. There was intimate contact between the Chōḻas and the Arabs. (SII, II, 95; also Middle Chōla Temples, S.R. Baḻasubramanyam, p. 87).
3. SII, II, 51, p. 40, 41.
4. SII, II, 7, p. 14, 15.

bangles or bejewelled bangles corresponding to the modern muttu or vayira-vaḷayal (pearl or diamond bangles). A number of pairs of pearl (muttin) śooḍagams were gifted by Chief Vaḍugan to the icon of Durgā Paramēśvari set up by him[1]. In one instance, a pair of śooḍagams was presented to Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Tanjai Aḷagar by Panchavan Mahādēvi.[2] It is mentioned that each piece in the pair had fourteen pearl strings on which were strung 481 pearls of different varieties. To two points in the śooḍagam were attached 6 karaḍigais and 24 pōttis which were soldered and set into sockets, and in addition 70 crystals were fastened. Thread and lac formed part of the bracelet, which weighed about 20 kaḷanjus and was worth 30 kāśus. The other piece of the pair was almost identical, with 485 pearls in 14 strings, 6 karaḍigais, 24 pōttis and 79 crystals. It weighed slightly more (21 kaḷanjus) and was worth 30 kāśus.

Two pairs of muttin śooḍagam were presented by nobleman Vaḍugan to the image of Durgā Paramēśvari set up by him.[3] They had gold balls (gunḍu) soldered on a band of gold and each band had about 250 pearls of various types including pearls in clusters (punjai-muttu).

28. Śrī bāhu-vaḷayam: This ornament was a popular one among the Chōḷas and, from the description in the grants given to temples, we know that it was a golden armlet with front plates and clasps, studded with precious stones. In one description, we find that lac was used for cementing the stones, and threads for tying the piece over the arm. One such piece presented by Panchavan Mahādēvi to Tanjai Aḷagar was worth 52 kāśus, and weighed 45½ kaḷanjus, 4 manjāḍis and 1 kunri. On the two front plates (iḍaikkaṭṭu) and the clasp (mukham) were fastened 49 crystals, 6 pōttis and 181 diamond crystals. On the bāhu-vaḷayam were strung as pendants 263 pearls of different varieties.[4]

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1. SII, II, 79, p. 11-14.
2. SII, II, 51, p. 40, 41.
3. SII, II, 79, p. 17-20.
4. SII, II, 51, p. 20-21.

29. Śri Chhandam: This is a bejewelled gold ornament with crystals, diamond crystals, pōttis and pearls. This item frequently occurs as an article of presentation. (We come across a number of ornaments of this and similar type, viz., Indra-ch-chhanda, kalāpa-ch-chhanda, dēva-ch-chhanda and vijaya-ch-chhanda[1]). To give an example, one such piece which weighed 34 1/4 kaḷanjus and contained:

		Kalanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold	weighing	6	9/10	—
Lac	„	3/4	1 1/10	—
Pinju	„	1/4	2/10	—
18 crystals	„	—	4	1
6 Diamond crystals	„	—	—	—
13 Pōttis	„	—	2 8/10	—
759 pearls (strung)	„	26½	4	—
TOTAL WEIGHT		33½	13	1

30. Śri Muḍi: Of the various sacred ornaments that Rājarāja gave, the śrīmuḍi constituted an important item, along with tiruppaṭṭigai, tiru-vaḷayil, tirumālai and śrī-chhanda. The śrīmuḍi is the sacred crown, made of gold, with a number of jewels studded in it. We may describe the śrīmuḍi that formed an item of Rājarāja's gifts (mentioned in SII, II, No. 3 para 23). The gold part of it weighed 28¼ kaḷanjus, 4 manjāḍis and 1 kunri. 124 crystals were set in it, apart from 71 diamond crystals and 32 pōttis; 334 pearls were strung on it; and the pinju was weighed separately. Including the jewels, the crown weighed 49½ kaḷanjus, valued at 86 kāśus. The break-up of the jewel weights is as follows:

Item		Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri	Value in kāśu
Gold	weighing	38¾	4	1	
124 Crystals	„	1	9	1	
71 Diamond Crystals	„		3	1	
32 Pōttis	„		7	1	
Pinju	„	1½	—	—	
334 Pearls	„	7	—	—	
		49	10	0	86

1. SII, II, 93.

31. Śrī-pāda-śāyalam: A pair of such śāyalams was presented by Rājarāja's sister Kundavai to the icon of Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar.[1] One śāyalam for the foot contained 37¼ kaḻanjus and 3⁴⁄₁₀ manjāḍis. 360 diamonds of 5 varieties weighing ¾ kaḻanju and 4 manjāḍis were set in the ornament. 72 big and small rubies consisting of 15 superior halahalams, 20 standard quality halahalams, 22 smooth rubies, 3 bluish rubies and 12 unpolished rubies were also set in the śāyalam and they weighed 2½

L29. Kirīta, makara-kuṇḍala, necklaces etc.

kaḻanjus and 2⁶⁄₁₀ manjāḍis. In addition, 42 pearls were either strung or sewn on the śāyalam, weighing 2 kaḻanjus, 8 manjāḍis and 1 kunri. The pearls were of eleven varieties. With the diamonds, rubies and pearls, the gold śāyalam weighed 43¾ kaḻanjus, 3 manjāḍis and 1 kunri, and was valued at 350 kāśus. The other piece of the pair was of the same quality and had about the same number and variety of diamonds, rubies and pearls. It altogether weighed 43

1. SII, II, 8, p. 6, 7.

kaḻanjus and 1 manjāḍi, corresponding to a value of 350 kāśus. To give another example Kundavai presented to Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Āḍavallār Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar, one vayira śāyalam (a diamond śāyalam) which weighed 122¾ kaḻanjus of gold.[1] Similarly, she presented to the same deity a pair of sacred foot śāyalams (śrī-pāda-śāyalam) containing 109½ kaḻanjus of gold.[2] It would seem that the śāyalam was an ornament heavy in nature and worn on the feet. Evidently it was worn by women only.

32. Śuri: It is an ornament with a screw base. One comes across a number of instances of Rudrāksha ponnin śuri, a screw of gold fixed in a rudrāksha. To the images of the four Nāyanmārs set up by Āditya Sūryan, he gifted a number of such screws. One such śuri made of rudrāksha was fixed on a string (nāṇ) and had kokkuvāi and paḍukkaṇ, and weighed one kaḻanju and 7 manjāḍis; it was worth 3 kāśus.[3]

33. Śutti: This is a gold forehead plate. An ornament of this description was gifted to the Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār of the parivār-ālaya by one Marudattūr Uḍaiyār.[4] It had 11 pearls, and with them it weighed 4 kaḻanjus, 8 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and was valued at nine kāśus.

34. Tāli: This is a pendant worn by married women as a sign of their being sumangali (i.e. being with husband); it is also known as Māngalyam or tiru-māngalyam. However, we find some amount of indiscriminate use of this piece of ornament, as in a few cases male deities were also presented with ornaments with tāli fitted on them. We may illustrate this item from a gift that nobleman Vaḍugan gave to the image of Durgā Paramēśvari set up by him.[5] It was a tāli of ruby (Māṇikkattin tāli) and had a small śambangarai (meaning not

1. 1. SII, II, 2, p. 35.
2. SII, II, 2, p. 41.
3. SII, II, 39, p. 54, 56, 52 etc.
4. SII, II, 87, p. 2.
5. SII, II, 79, p. 16.

known) of gold worth 3 kāśus. On it were set five diamonds and one ruby. It had a paḍukkaṇ and a kōkkuvai on the kārai (i.e. collar). In order words, the tāli was attached to a gold collar.

35. Tāli-maṇi-vaḍam: This is a chain or string (vaḍam) of beads (maṇi) meant to have the tāli (marriage badge) fixed on it. One such vaḍam was gifted by Chōḷa Mahādēvi to Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Rishabhavāhana dēvar.[1]

36. Tāḷ-vaḍam: This again is a type of necklace and has been referred to in connection with a necklace of rudrāksha (beads) which had 56 rudrāksha and 56 śuris (screws). This piece was gifted by Ādityan Sūryan to the image of Nambi Ārūranār set up by him.[2] Another piece of tāḷ-vaḍam deserves description. It was given by Abhimānavalliyār to the image of Lingapurāṇa dēvar set up by her. It was strung with 430 pearls which were in clusters (punjai muttu).[3] We come across a tāḷvaḍam, exclusively of rudrāksha, among the gifts made to Nambi Ārūranār, an icon gifted by Ādityan Sūryan.[4]

37. Tagaḍu: As the name implies, it is a plate or sheet, perhaps a strip, worn as an ear-ornament (kudambai). We have some instances of this in the gifts of Tennavan Mūvēndavēḷān (Ādityan Sūryan) to the images of Kshētrapāla and others set up by him.[5] An instance of an emerald-set plate finds mention among the gifts to the deities in the temple. We also come across a rudrāksha kārai among the gifts of Ādityan Sūryan.[6]

38. Tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam: It is a string or chain made of round beads and weighed between 2 and 8 kaḷanjus. A number of these chains were presented to the deities in the Rājarājēśvaram temple. None of the tiraḷmaṇi-vaḍams gifted contained any of the nine gems. It was therefore obviously an exclusively gold chain (p. 316).

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1. SII, II, 46, p. 54; also see SII, II, 8, p. 14.
2. SII, II, 38, p. 24.
3. SII, II, 44, p. 9.
4. SII, II, 38, p. 30.
5. SII, II, 43, p. 6 & 22.
6. SII, II, 43, p. 15.

39. Tiru-ch-channa-vaḍam: Its exact meaning is not clear but it is mentioned in the context of a suspended chain or loop attached to a face plate or forehead plate.

40. Tiru or Tirugu: This term means a screw or spiral and the ornament is known as such. Generally, a circular bejewelled disc-like ornament is screwed on to a ring or necklace or chain. Even now an ornament that is screwed on to the hair is called tirugup-pū, meaning a flower with a spiral or screw. Chōḻa Mahādēvi gifted a tiru to the image of Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Rishabhavāhana dēvar. It consisted of a ruby strung on a gold string, weighing, with the lac, 2 kaḻanjus, 2 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and valued at 8 kāśus. Diamonds, rubies, paḍukkaṇ, kokkuvāi, pearls etc. were set or strung on it.[1]

Another instance of a tiru (spiral) is found among the gifts of Trailōkyamahādēvi to the icon óf the consort of the image of Kalyāṇasundarar (gifted by her). Here the spiral was strung on a neck-ring (paṭṭaik-kārai) and on it three diamonds were set and a crystal, a pōtti and a nāḻi-Gangapāḍi-kal, fastened.

41. Tiruk-kāl-kārai: This does not seem to be different from tiru-vaḍik-kārai; if different, perhaps it refers to anklets, as distinct from foot-ring, worn on the feet. This expression is rarely used and one of those rare cases is seen from a gift of a pair to the image of Nangai Paravaiyār by Āditya Sūryan,[2] each piece in the pair weighing 1½ kaḻanjus of gold.

42. Tiru-k-kāl-mōdiram: This has already been dealt with under Sl. No. 15 on mōdiram etc, vide pp. 198 and 200.

43. Tiruk-kāl-vaḍam: It is a chain (or string) round the leg or foot, and is best translated as foot-ring. A pair of this vaḍam was presented by the nobleman Vaḍugan to the image of Durgā Paramēśvari set up by him.[3] Pearls numbering 27 and 30 of various

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1. SII, II, 46, p. 48.
2. Perhaps beryl, see footnote at p. 198 of SII, II.
3. SII, II, 79, p. 21, 22.

types were strung on them and they weighed ½ kaḻanju and 3 manjāḍis, and ½ kaḻanju and 2 manjāḍis respectively; they were worth 7/20 of a kāśu each.

44. Tiru-k-kārai: This has been dealt with under kārai, sl.no.2 at page 191.

45. Tiruk-kaik-kārai: This is best translated as a sacred arm-ring (or arm-plate) and was a very popular item of jewellery. Panchavan Mahādēvi gifted a number of them to her icon of Tanjai Aḻagar. They were of gold in the shape of a strip or band, and on it were soldered gold spheres or balls (guṇḍu) and sockets (kēvaṇam). Their weight was taken by excluding the threads used for stringing, and the copper nails used for fixing the balls and sockets. One of them weighed 22 kaḻanjus, 9 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and had eleven strings of pearls attached to two points (or at both ends to the body) numbering 411, besides 32 crystals and 12 pōttis[1]. They were valued at between 25 and 30 kāśus.

46. Tiruk-kambi: This is an ear-ornament in the shape of a ring or wire.[2]

47. Tiru-makaram: Panchavan Mahādēvi gave a gift of a pair of ear-ornaments shaped like a makara (crocodile) to the image of Patanjali dēvar set up by her. It weighed 1¾ kaḻanjus and 4 manjāḍis of gold. Tiru-makaram is to be presumed to be the same as Makara-kuṇḍala, an ornament of common occurrence among the divine sculptures of the Chōḻas. Generally one ear was adorned with tiru-makaram and the other with ōlai (patra kuṇḍala) or tagaḍu.[3]

48. Tiru-mālai: This is a sacred garland, very often hanging down low (kīḻ-niyaḍattu); a large number of pearls (whose number is lost) of various (the usual) varieties were strung on it. On two marriage-

1. SII, II, 51, para 22.
2. SII, II, 8, para 13.
3. SII, II, 53, p. 7.

badges soldered together and on two ḍāḷimbams whose constituent five pieces were soldered together, were fastened 94 crystals, 11 pōttis and 400 and odd diamond crystals. In addition it had a pāḷigai, with a paḍukkaṇ and a kokkuvāi. The entire garland weighed 91 kaḻanjus and was valued at 125 kāśus. This was a gift by Panchavan Mahādēvi to Tanjai Viṭankar, a copper icon set up by her.[1]

A small tirumālai was given by Chōḻa Mahādēvi to the image of Rishabhavāhana Dēvar set up by her in the Rājarājēśvaram temple.[2]

49. Tiru-nāyanam: This is a sacred gold eye (nayana (skt.)= eye) which is less of an ornament and more of a kavacha (or cover, as a part of śingāra, or dressing up of the deity). Rājarāja I gave such a sacred eye-piece to the Piḷḷaiyār Gaṇapatiyār of the Parivārālaya. It weighed 2 kaḻanjus, 4 manjāḍis and 1 kunri of gold and a sapphire was set on it.[3]

50. Tirup-paṭṭigai: This is a sacred girdle and we give below the description of the one gifted to Tanjai Aḻagar by Panchavan Mahādēvi who had set up this copper icon.[4] It weighed 80¼ kaḻanjus, 2 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and was valued at 55 kāśus. 24 crystals (paḷingu), 9 pōttis and 56 diamond crystals (paḷingu-vayiṟam) were fastened (taḍavik-kaṭṭina) on the clasp (mukham i.e., face). There were 12 gold flowers on the girdle, each of which was a cluster of 5 tiny flowers on which were fastened 54 crystals and 6 pōttis; there were also 8 small flowers (maṭṭappū) fastened with 4 crystals and 4 pōttis. The girdle had a main pendant (tānai-tūkkam) in the form of a braided garland (Pinnuk-kōvai), on top of which was a bud of gold (moṭṭu); on this bud were fastened a crystal, a pōtti, 9 diamonds and 8 śavis (bundles or bunches) of 3 strings (of pearls) each. From the middle of each of the (eight) śavis (bundles) hung 8 small pendants (śiru-tūkkam), and each of these tūkkams

1. SII, II, 46, para 14, p. 187. SII, II, 51, para 13, p. 213.
2. SII, II, 46.
3. SII, II, 79, p. 21, 22.
4. SII, II, 56, para 26.

had fastened on it a pōtti and 2 crystals. In each of them again was an ēnāḷi or nāḷi (a term whose meaning is not clear), topped by three viḍangu (perhaps little buttons or humps of gold, viḍangu or viṭanku meaning a summit or top). A variety of pearls, numbering 3349 were strung on this ornament over the main body of the ornament—uḍal), its constituent parts (tuṇḍam), the śavis, the tūkkams and the tānait-tūkkam (the central or main pendant). The pearls were of many varieties like vaṭṭam (round pearls), aṇu-vaṭṭam (near round or roundish pearls), oppu muttu (polished pearls), kuru muttu (small pearls), karaḍu (crude or rough pearls), śakkaṭṭu and śappatti.

As usual with all jewellery of this period, this piece was weighed along with the lac used in fixing the stones, but excluding the śilai (stones) and the śaraḍu (threads) used in tying the ornament.

In another tiruppaṭṭigai[1], a special type of face or clasp known as kimpiri-mukham was mounted. The exact meaning of the term kimpiri or the shape of the kimpiri design is not clear (perhaps it means a knob or ring).

In yet another specimen,[2] a number of nāṇs (strings) ran parallel—one main string (nāṇ) with the king (or principal) ruby (araśu-māṇikkam), kaḷḷippū and paḍukkaṇ; a large string (perum-nāṇ) with tiny bells (kinkiṇi); a third string containing mango-shaped beads (māngāi-nāṇ) which had a kimpiri-faced front medallion (kimpiri-mukham) with pearls etc. weighing 243½ kaḷanjus, 3³/₁₀ manjāḍis and worth 406 kāśus. This must have been a huge and costly piece.

We come across a variety of paṭṭigai called tōḷilpaṭṭigai which is a wrought girdle. One specimen gifted by Kundavai to Umā Paramēś-vari, consort of Āḍavallār Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar was a very heavy piece weighing 344 kaḷanjus of gold.[3] An all pearl string girdle was called muttin-pattigai.

51. Tiru-vaḍik-kāl mōdiram: This item has been dealt with under mōdiram, vide pages 198 and 200.

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1. SII, II, 46, para 27, p. 189.
2. SII, II, 93, para 28.
3. SII, II, 2, p. 39.

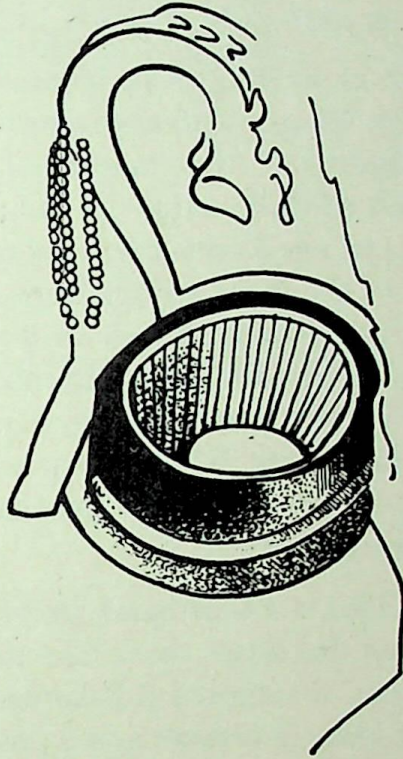
52. Tiru-vaḍik-kārai: This is an ornament similar to the tiruk-kaik-kārai, but worn on the feet, and may be described as a foot-band or foot-ring. It was one of a number of pieces given by Panchavan Mahādēvi to Tanjai Aḻagar. The band of gold with gold balls and sockets weighed 30½ kaḻanjus and 4³/₁₀ manjāḍis and was valued at 42 kāśus. It was fastened with 42 crystals and 30 pōttis. It had twelve strings, strung with 488 pearls which were attached to the main piece at two points.[1] This again was a popular item of jewellery and numerous pieces were gifted during Rājarāja's days.

Two further pairs gifted by the same queen to the image of Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Tanjai Aḻagar, had karaḍigais, six in number, attached to two points, besides pōttis and crystals, the former being soldered and set into sockets and the latter fastened. These had also 12 pearl strings.[2]

53. Tiru-vaḍi-nilai: This is a bejewelled wooden footwear, generally in the form of closed shoes. Rājarāja presented three such pairs; one of them is described as: "one sandal for the sacred left foot made of wood, with the upper part covered with gold (plated). It weighed 113 kaḻanjus, inclusive of the 98 superior rubies viz., halahalam and kōmaḷam, 51 diamonds set on it, the wood and the fastenings. Its price was 200 kāśus."

54, 62 and 64. Tiru-vāḷi, vāḷi & vaḍuga-vāḷi: Vāḷi is an earring whose exact features are not known; Vaḍugavāḷi is such an earring perhaps fashioned in the Telugu style. Vaḍuga refers to the country north of Chōḻa dēśa and Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, generally meaning the Telugu or Āndhra country. In this region the ear-lobe is artificially enlarged so as to accommodate such ear-ornaments as ōlai, and such an ear is referred to as Vaḍugak-kādu (a Telugu-ear), presumably because of the prevalence of this practice of enlarging the ear-lobes to accommodate big ornaments in the Telugu-speaking country—a practice which prevails even now in the Tamiḻ and Telugu speaking

1. SII, II, 51, para 28.
2. SII, II, 93, paras 50 to 55.

regions in certain areas.[1] We have an example of a Vaḍuga-vāḷi presented by Panchavan Mahādēvi to Tanjai Aḻagar, an image she had set up. This piece had nine pearls strung on it and weighed, with the gold, 2½ kaḻanjus and 3 manjāḍis and was valued at 7 kāśus.[2]

L_{30}. Ōlai (or plate ear-ornament)

55. Tōḍu: This evidently had the same connotation then as now and referred to a stone-studded ear-ornament. It could also be of gold without being set with precious or semi-precious stones, as we find a reference to a tōḍu consisting of 2¾ kaḻanjus 4 manjāḍis and 1 kunri of gold without any mention of any jewels set or strung in it.[3] This was an ornament worn by both male and female deities (see p. 316).

56. Tūkkam: is a pendant.[4]

1. SII, II, 51 para 19.
2. SII, II, 51, para 19.
3. SII, II, 34, para 13.
4. SII, II, 8, para 50.

57. Turuttu: This is evidently an ornament, but we do not know what the term means and of what shape the ornament was. The only instance of this ornament we have is from a gift of Chōḻa Mahādēvi to the image of Rishabhavāhana devar set up by her. It weighed, with the lac, 1½ kaḻanjus, 3⁸/₁₀ manjāḍis and was worth 3 kāśus. On it were fastened one crystal and 22 pearls of four varieties.[1]

58. Triśaram: As the name implies, this is also a necklace, but with three strands or strings. We get a good example of it from the gifts made by Lōkamahādēvi to the image of Bhikshāṭanar set up by her.[2] It consisted of three strings, strung with 99 pearls and weighed 9¾ kaḻanjus and one kunri, costing a quarter of a kāśu. At each of the two ends of the three strings were strung a lapis lazuli and a coral (three of each in all). A new variety of pearl we come across in this piece of ornament is ambumudu, not found in the pieces quoted earlier. There were two front plates or link plates (iḍaikkaṭṭu) and on them were fastened a pōtti each, two crystals each, a paḍukkaṉ, a kokkuvāi and two ḍāḷimbams, each consisting of three pieces soldered together.

59. Udara-bandha: This is a waistband, or more literally a belly-band as it went round the torso above the navel and below the nipples. In one instance, it weighed 8 kaḻanjus, 7 manjāḍis and 1 kunri and was worth 8 kāśus. 8 crystals and 3 pōttis were fastened on it; and so were 306 pearls of different varieties.[3]

60. Uruṭṭu: A pair of uruṭṭus was gifted by Rājarāja I to Umā Paramēśvari, consort of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar and each piece weighed 2 kaḻanjus and 1 kunri, valued at 13 kāśus. One of them had nine pearls sewn on it, weighing 9 kaḻanjus and 40 manjāḍis. The other uruṭṭu had 6 diamond crystals, 2 rubies and 2 pearls sewn on them.[4] Mention of at least three varieties of uruṭṭus, in pearls, diamonds and rubies is made in Rājarāja's gifts to the main deity (p. 302).

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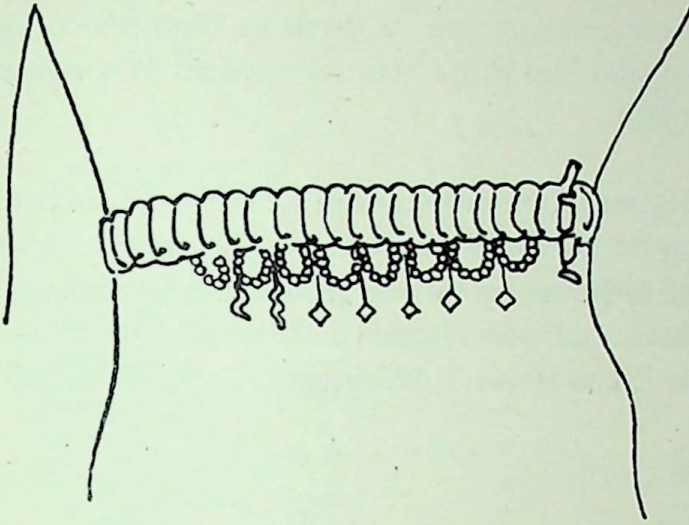
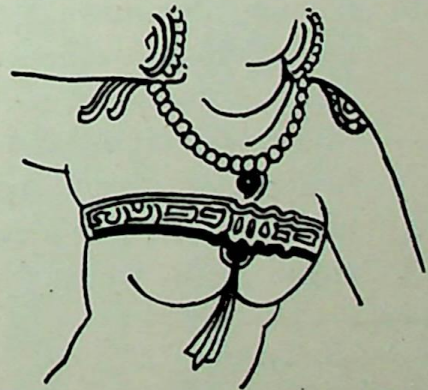
1. SII, II, 46, p. 15.
2. SII, II, 34, para 10, p. 145.
3. SII, II, 46, p. 26.
4. SII, II, 7, p. 6, 7.

L_{31}. Waist-band with pearl strings, clusters and śavis

L_{32}. Kucha-bandha (or breast band)

There is another variety of uruṭṭu known as double uruṭṭu (iraṭṭai uruṭṭu).[1] Kundavai gifted a pair of them to Umā Paramēśvari, the consort of Āḍavallār Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar. It weighed 10 kaḻanjus and 1 manjāḍi.

61. Vaḍam: This is a general term meaning a string, an expression in use even currently. Chōḻa Mahādēvi gave a vaḍam to the image of Rishabhavāhana dēvar set up by her. It weighed, with the lac, 3¾ kaḻanjus, 3³⁄₁₀ manjāḍis and was valued at 16 kāśus. On it were strung 33 pearls, 2 corals, 2 lapis lazuli, 2 ḍāḷimbams, 1 kokkuvāi and 1 paḍukkaṇ.[2]

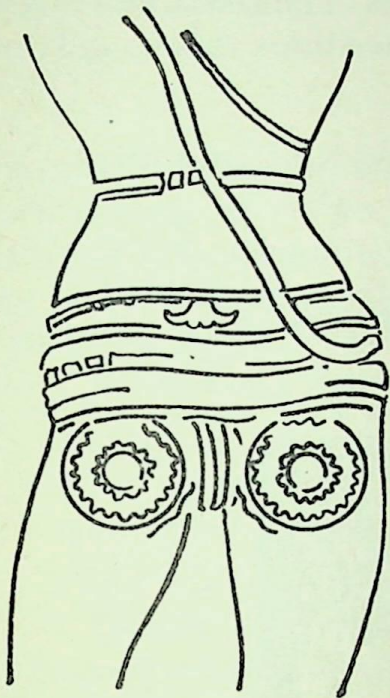
62. Vaḍuga-vāḷi: See item 54

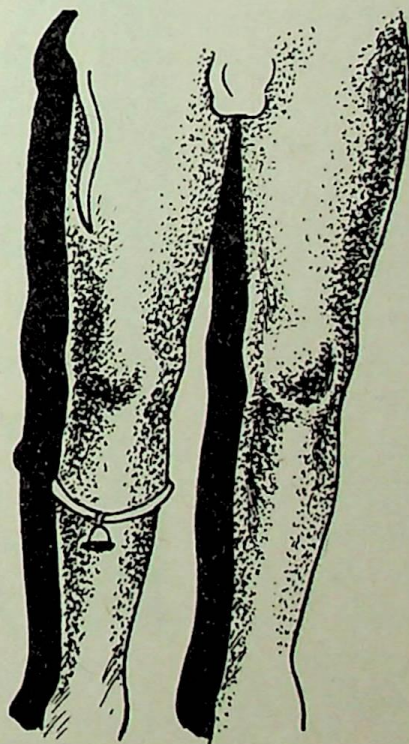
63. Vāḷi: See items 54 and 62

64. Vaḷayil:

(a) Muttu-vaḷayil (pearl bracelet). A number of such bracelets with pearls were gifted by Rājarāja. One of them[3] (para 7) is described as being made of gold weighing 5 kaḻanjus, 9 manjāḍis and 1 kunri. In it were strung 359 pearls of various varieties like 'brilliant water' and 'red water' pearls, round pearls, roundish pearls etc. (11 varieties in all are mentioned). They weighed 10 kaḻanjus, 1 manjāḍi and 1 kunri. Altogether the bracelet weighed 15½ kaḻanjus and 1 manjāḍi, corresponding to the value of 25 kaśus.

(b) Ponnin-paṭṭai-mēl-guṇḍu-vaittu-viḷakkina-vaḷayil: This is a type of bracelet with pearls and gold buttons on a flat gold strip going round the wrist. We may give an example from one of Chōḻa Mahādēvi's gifts.[4] It was a vaḷayil of balls (guṇḍu) soldered on a band (paṭṭai) of gold weighing 11¾ kaḻanjus, 1 manjāḍi and 1 kunri and worth thirteen, one quarter and one-eighth kāśus. On it were strung 378 pearls.

1. SII, II, 2, p. 30.
2. SII, II, 46, 16.
3. SII, II, 3, para 7.
4. SII, II, 46, para 22

L_{33} Buttocks adorned with Prishta-chakra

L_{34} Kinkini (belled rings) worn over the calf muscle

We have mentioned three other varieties of bracelets, one which had various precious stones (and hence called ratna vaḷayil) and two others whose details are not available.

65. Vīra-paṭṭa: This is an ornamented and bejewelled diadem or tiara worn on the head as a symbol of royalty or divinity and consisted of a narrow strip of gold. The vīra-paṭṭa that General Krishṇan Rāman gave to the image of Ardhanārīśvarar he had set up, had 16 nerunji flowers made of gold soldered on the paṭṭa, and on it were strung 11ḷ pearls of nine different varieties.[1]

1. SII, II, 39, p. 9.

9

Vessels and Aids in Temple Rituals

Temple rituals constitute a theme by themselves for, in the evolved religion of Hinduism when God was given the anthropomorphic form, he had to be subjected to the routine of the daily life of a human being; in the result, the rituals included the awakening of God in the morning to the singing of subdued melody (Suprabhātam) followed by light repast, ceremonial bathing, worship by the devotees, siesta, and evening worship followed by the evening meal. The day was then rounded off by the Lord being taken, to the accompaniment of music and dance, to the chamber of the consort, for the night. In the process, the Hindu priest evolved a variety of contraptions to ritualise these ceremonies. Conch-shells and drums, cymbals and mardaḷas, lamps of various categories and fans of different types, casings (kavacha) of gold and silver, apart from garments of silk and cotton came to play a vital part in the temple ritual.

While on the subject of grants and gifts made by Rājarāja I, his queens and his nobles, it would be worth mentioning that, apart from the large number and variety of ornaments and jewellery discussed above, they also gave an interesting variety of vessels and aids used in temple rituals. Elaborate details of these items used, both for worship and in the sacred kitchen, can be gleaned from epigraphical sources. However, we may confine ourselves here to a mere enumeration of these ritual vessels, as any attempt to deal with them in detail would take us far afield.

Vessels and aids to worship were made of gold, silver, copper and zinc. From the various inscriptions of Rājarājēśvaram, as well as those coeval with them found in other temples of the empire, we are able to gather a fair idea of the variety of vessels in use.

Among these vessels and aids could be mentioned the following: taḷigai, oṭṭuvaṭṭil, maḍal, maṇa vaṭṭil, maṇḍai, kalaśam, śaṭṭuvam, kaichōḷam, pali-tāḷam, kai-vaṭṭigai and others. They were made of gold, silver or copper and used for serving oblations before the deities.

A second category of articles in use were decorative aids to worship, like lamps, umbrellas, stools, conch-shells and such others. Among them could be listed the following: kāḷam (a musical instrument), dunduru, pavvai kannāḍi (possibly a type of mirror with a special decorative frame), maṭṭalam vāśikkum pavvai (meaning not clear), uḍukkai pavvai, pāḍum pavvai, pīṭhams of various varieties made of copper etc., kunḍigai in zinc (tarā), śangukkal in zinc, veṇtarā śangukkal, śaṭṭikkal, aṭṭanaikkal, dhūpa-pāttiram (vessel for incense burning), tiruchchhatram (umbrella used for various rituals in the temple including processions when the deities were taken out of the sanctum for a circuit round the temple as on utsava days) and many others.

Interesting varieties of lamps find mention in the inscriptions. For instance, we come across the following: tongu viḷakku (hanging lamp); tarā viḷakku (lamp in zinc); Īḻa śīyal lamp, i.e., a lamp commonly in use or manufactured in Īḻam (Śrī Lankā); Malayan śīyal lamp, a lamp possibly having a Kēraḷa origin or in use in that region; the Chōḻiyar śīyal lamp, again a lamp possibly having some characteristics of the Chōḻa region; ananta-talai-viḷakku, a lamp having the shape of the hood of a snake and so forth.

And finally, there is a third set of items used in ritual worship which are available from the inscriptions. They are śaruvach-chaṭṭi, a type of pot (the word śaruvum has come down to us now having the meaning of a big pot); kāga mugil, eri-maṇi (a type of bell), kai-maṇi (a hand bell) etc.

Many of these items are in use even today in temple worship but their names have undergone variations, some recognisable, others totally unrecognisable. From some of the changes in nomenclature

we come across in regard to the terms in use in land revenue system as well as in jewellery, we may hazard the guess that sometime during the post-Pāṇḍyan period, in all likelihood during the Vijayanagara period, many new names were brought into use which find currency even today. In my book, Temple Art Under the Chōla Queens, I have dealt with these vessels in some depth.[1]

It will not be out of place to refer to a detailed inscription found on the northwest and south walls in of the garbhagriha of the temple of Lōkamahādēvi-Īśvaram (otherwise called Vaḍa Kailāsam) at the dēvadāna township of Tiruvaiyāru on the north bank of the river Kāvērı in Poigai nāḍu in Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu, dated in the 24th year of Rājarāja I, i.e. when the Rājarājēśvaram temple at Tanjāvur was under construction. His principal queen Lōkamahādēvi (also called Danti Śakti Viṭanki) built this temple and named it after her; and endowed the deity of the central shrine, Lōkamahādēvi-Īśvarar and the processional deity, Ulōka Vīdi Viṭanka dēvar and other images set up by her in that temple with a set of jewels and ornaments as well as ritual aids and vessels, and kitchen utensils, which is perhaps one of the most elaborate enumerations of various types of such ritual vessels and 'sāmagris' (aids to worship). Though not a part of the inscriptional material from the Rājarājēśvaram temple, it would be supplementary to the material found here, to refer to the total of eighty such items (some repeated) gifted to that temple. This list is appended as a note for convenience of comparative study. The list includes taḷigai, oṭṭu-vaṭṭil, maḍal, māṇa-vaṭṭil, chāmara, ichchōpi, paḷḷi-tongal, maṇḍai, śaṭṭuvam, kalacham, pali-tāḷam, kai-vaṭṭikai, kāḷam, dunduru, kalaśam, pavvai kannāḍi, mattaḷam vāśikkum pavvai, uḍukkai pavvai, pāḍum pavvai, pīṭham, taṛā kuṇḍikai, taṛā śangukkal, taṛā chaṭṭikkal, taṛākkal aṭṭaṇaikal, dhūpa pāttiram, tiruchchhatram, tongu viḷakku, taṛā viḷakku, īla śeeyal, malayan śeeyal, chōliyar śeeyal, anantattalai, akkupanni kal, taṛā śaruvam, śaruvachaṭṭī, kāga mugil, erimaṇi, kai maṇi, among others (p. 228).

The fund of information on these interesting items from the Chōla inscriptional reservoir is vast enough to entitle this subject to a special treatment (See Appendices 1,2,3,9 and 10 for details).

1. See pp. 136, 137 and 138 of Temple Art under the Chola Queens.

EXCERPT FROM THE 24TH YEAR INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARĀJA I (AT TIRUVAIYĀRU)

Gifts of Ritual Aids and Vessels, and Kitchen Utensils

S. No.	Gift	No. of pieces	Weight°	Unit of measure
1.	*Taḷigai* (gold)	1	448½	*kaḻanju*
2.	*Oṭṭu-vaṭṭil* (gold)	1	200	"
3.	*Maḍal* (gold)	1	50	"
4.	*Maṇa-vaṭṭil* (gold)	1	14½+1/8	"
5.	*Chāmara*-handle (gold)	1	30	"
6.	*Chāmara*-handle (gold)	1	30	"
7.	*Ichchōpi* handle	1	30	"
8.	*Ichchōpi* handle	1	30	"
9.	*Paḷḷi Tongal* (crown with pendants,	4		
	gold-coated on copper) weight of gold	1	119¼	"
10.	*Taḷigai* (silver)	1	161	"
11.	Head (*Maṇḍai*) (silver)	1	195	"
12.	*Kalacham* (silver)	1	100	"
13.	*Sattuvam* (spoon) (silver)	1	98½	"
14.	*Kaichōlam* (silver)	1	38	"
15.	Copper plate (*Taḷigai*)	1	28	*palam*
16.	Copper plate (")	1	24	"
17.	Copper plate (")	1	22	"
18.	Copper plate (")	1	22	"
19.	Copper plate (*Pali-tāḷam*)	1	25	"
20.	Copper plate (")	1	54	"
21.	Copper *Kai-vaṭṭikai* (without spout)	1	18	"
22.	Copper plate	1	27	"
23.	Copper *Kāḷam* (musical instrument)	1	20	"
24.	—do—	1	15	"
25.	—do—	1	16	"
26.	—do—	1	15	"

S. No.	Gift	No. of pieces	Weight°	
27.	Copper *Dunduru*	2	14	"
28.	Copper *Kaḷaśam* (pot)	1	20	"
29.	Copper covered mirror gilded (*Pavvai Kannāḍí*)	1		"
30.	*Mattaḷam Vāśikkum Pavvai*	1		"
31.	Copper *Uḍukkai Pavvai*	1		"
32.	Copper *Pāḍum Pavvai*	1	80	"
33.	Copper *Peeṭham*	1		"
34.	Copper Mirror *Peeṭham*	1		"
35.	*Tarā* (zinc) *Kuṇḍikai*	1	58	"
36.	*Tarā Ṡangukkal*	1	58	"
37.	–do–	1	6	"
38.	*Ventarā Śangukkal*	1	5½	"
39.	*Tarā Chaṭṭikkal*	1	45	"
40.	–do–	1	24	"
41.	–do–	1	40	"
42.	*Tarākkal Chaṭṭkkal*	1	67	"
43.	–do–	1	88	"
44.	*Tarākkal Aṭṭanaikal*	1	150	"
45.	–do–	1	175	"
46.	*Dhoopa-pāttiram* (incense vessel)	1	9	"
47.	Umbrella (*Tiruchchhatram*)	1	7½	"
48.	*Toongu Viḷakku* (hanging lamp)	1	6	"
49.	*Tarā Viḷakku* (lamp)	1	53	"
50.	Ī̤la (Ceylon) *Śeeyal* lamp	1	200	"
51.	*Malayan* (Kerala) *Śeeyal* lamp	1	310	"
52.	*Malayan* (Kerala) *Śeeyal* lamp	1	320	"
53.	*Chōḻiyar Śeeyal* lamp	1	154	"
54.	–do–	1	220	"

S. No.	*Gift*	*No. of pieces*	*Weight°*	*Unit of measure*
55.	—do—	1	500	"
56.	—do—	1	260	"
57.	—do—	1	17	"
58.	*Anantattalai* (snake-hood) lamp	1	360	"
59.	—do—	1	180	"
60.	—do—	1	166	"
61.	*Akkupanni Kal* (stool)	1	80	"
62.	—do—	1	100	"
63.	*Tarā Śaruvam* (vessel)	1	150	"
64.	—do—	1	15	"
65.	—do—	1	165	"
66.	—do—	1	90	"
67.	*—do—*	*1*		"
68.	*—do—*	*1*	*50*	"
69.	*Śaruvachaṭṭi* (pot)	1	50	"
70.	—do—	1	45	"
71.	—do—	1	25	"
72.	—do—	1	25	"
73.	—do—	1	52	"
74.	—do—	1	5	"
75.	*Kāga Mugil*	*1*	*5*	"
76.	*Taḷigai*	1	54	"
77.	*Erimaṇi*	1	176	"
78.	—do—	1	120	"
79.	—do—	1	105	"
80.	*Kai Maṇi* (hand bell) (1 pair)	1	58	"

10

Administrative Arrangements for the Temple

Very few instances are there in recorded history where details of the administrative set-up of a place of worship are available in profusion and in minute detail. Even in South India where inscriptional material is abundant, data on temple administration are meagre. Rājarājēśvaram, however, presents an example of a temple with an abundance of lithic records relating to the arrangements made by Rājarāja, his nobles and others for the efficient running of the temple. These inscriptions again are a rich source of socio-political details, giving us much information on contemporary patterns of living and governance.

Three names share the pride of place in this respect: (i) Ādityan Sūryan alias Tennavan Mūvēndavēḷān, the headman of Poygai nāḍu who was in charge of the management of the temple of Rājarājēśvaram and who was evidently a powerful chief in the Court of Rājarāja I; (ii) Karuvūr Dēvar, the spiritual guru of Rājarāja I, in whose company the latter has been represented in stone and in murals in the Tanjāvūr temple, and who had sung the praise of the Lord of Rājarājēśvaram in his Tiruviśaippā, a poetical composition; and (iii) Guru Īśāna Śiva Paṇḍita, the chief Priest of the temple to whom a reference has already been made. Besides these personages, a number of nobles were patrons of the temple; like Kāḍan Gaṇavadi (Gaṇapati),[1]

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1. SII, II, No. 24 (7 kāśus)

Jayangoṇḍa Śoḻa Kaḍigai Mārāyan,[1] and Kārāyil Eḍuttapādam[2]. Between them, they provided for items used in the worship of the various deities of the temple (for instance, cardamom (skt. laamajjaka) 2160 palams per annum). Besides these, they also provided funds for financing the permanent engagement of drummers (five in number to beat the big drums announcing festivals), for feeding Śivayōgins, and for burning the camphor lamps.

LAND ENDOWMENTS

Even during his life time, Rājarāja had made elaborate arrangements for various services in the temple. The major arrangement was to provide extensive lands in favour of the temple as dēvadāna, from the revenue of which the expenses connected with the worship and services of the main deity were to be met.[3] The lands were spread over the entire empire, from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to Īḻamaṇḍalam. The supplies to the temple were to be made either in cash or in kind in the shape of paddy or, as in the case of Īḻam (Śrī Lankā), in the form of Iluppaip-pāl, a vegetable oil used for burning lamps. Over fifty villages are mentioned in three inscriptions,[4] and the revenues to the temple were laid down as 1,44,500 kalams of paddy, 2800 kaḻanjus of gold and 9 kalams of Iluppaip-pāl (for further details see Appendices 16, 17). These temple dues were to be measured into the Treasury of the temple by the various bodies entrusted with the administration of the revenue jurisdiction concerned. We incidentally get to know of some of the administrative divisions of the empire, like Arumoḻidēva vaḷanāḍu, of which twelve naḍus (sub-divisions) find mention, Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu, Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu, Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu,Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu (with mention of twelve nāḍus thereof), Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu etc. Fuller details are available from other inscriptions (pp. 327-9).

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1. SII, II, No. 28 (8 kāśus)
2. SII, II, No. 28 (50 kāśus)
3. SII, II, No. 4.
4. SII, II, Nos. 4, 5 and 92.

ACCOUNTANTS, TREASURERS AND TEMPLE SERVANTS

To ensure security of the assets of the temple, to maintain proper accounts, to receive grants in cash and in kind, to effect disbursements to the variety of servants and the priests of the temple, to finance various activities like worship and service, and to sponsor cultural activities like dance, drama, music etc., including periodic festivals, Rājarāja appointed treasurers, accountants and other functionaries numbering more than 196. They were drawn from (i.e., they were deputed from) more than 144 villages falling in the jurisdiction of the districts of (i) Arumoḷidēva vaḷanāḍu, (ii) Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu, (iii) Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu, (iv) Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu, (v) Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu, (vi) Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu, (vii) Kēraḷāntaka vaḷanāḍu and (viii) Pāṇḍikulāsani vaḷanāḍu which were all in Chōḷa maṇḍalam (for full details see Appendix 18, pp. 330 to 333). They were chosen from the brahmadēyas of these districts.

WATCHMEN

Rājarāja also appointed 143 watchmen drawn from as many as 131 villages, one from each village in the minimum, and sometimes two to six, on a remuneration of 100 kalams of paddy per year, to be disbursed by the inhabitants of the villages[1] concerned. These guards or watchmen were known by the name of meykāppu, meaning bodyguards[2] (the protector of the body of the Lord), a term that continues to be in use even today. Incidentally we get to know also from the said inscription the names of various provinces, districts, sub-divisions and their sub-units in Chōḷa maṇḍalam (vide Appendix 19, pp. 334 to 337).

1. SII, II, nos. 57 and 70.
2. It will be of interest to know that among the 36 groups or sub-sects of functionaries handling the affairs of the Lingarāja temple at Bhubanēśwar (Orissa) (Vide Appendix 23), one is a sub-sect known as the Mēkāpa—a functionary as in the Rājarājēśvaram temple. His function in the Lingarāja temple now is however somewhat different, viz., that of a store-keeper.

TEMPLE WOMEN (Taḷippeṇḍir)

The most interesting feature of Rājarāja's arrangements for running the temple is, however, the appointment of four hundred women servants to attend to various duties in the temple. The lithic record[1] which contains their details and terms of appointment is full of social, historical and other material, indeed a mine of information on the contemporary situation in the Chōḷa empire. For instance, it spells out the various functions that these women called taḷippeṇḍir (which means temple women) were called upon to discharge. It is replete with details like how they were remunerated, how the duties and rights devolved upon death, how pensions were worked out, and so forth. But the richest fund of information we collect from this inscription is on the temples that had been in existence in the Chōḷa empire by the 20th year of Rājarāja I.

A full list of the taḷippeṇḍir and their parent temple, the town or village from which their services were obtained for duty in Rājarājēśvaram, their remuneration, the house number and the row and the street where they lived, all this, as culled from the inscription, is contained in the statement in Appendix 20. Forty-four temples (Appendix 21) belonging to seventeen well-known centres had contributed a total of more than 220 of the taḷippeṇḍir to Rājarājēśvaram, the rest of them coming from more than fifty-two centres (Appendix 21-A). Tiruvārūr alone had contributed as many as fifty, the largest number from any one centre (pp. 338 to 352).

TEMPLES OF RĀJARĀJA'S DAYS

It would be an interesting pursuit to seek to identify these forty-four temples with existing structures based on available inscriptional material.

(i) In the case of Tiruvārūr, for instance, Periyataḷi is obviously a reference to the central shrine of Valmīkanātha. Tiruvaraneri has been identified as the earlier brick structure that had been replaced

1. SII, II, no. 6.

by a stone structure by Śembiyan Mahādēvi. It bears the alternate name of Achalēśvaram. Tirumaṇḍaḷi, again, would seem to be an evident reference to Paravai-un-Maṇḍaḷi.[1] But which or where is the temple or shrine of Arumoḻīśvaram that perhaps Rājarāja I himself, as its name would imply, had raised ? Which are the shrines called Brahmīśvarar and Ulagīśvarar in this inscription? A closer study with inscriptional references, of Tiruvārūr and its environs, than has been done so far, would be fruitful.

(ii) We are aware, not merely on the basis of the name of the temple, but also on inscriptional evidence, that Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram was added to the temple complex of Panchanadīśvaram at Tiruvaiyāru as a subsidiary structure during the days of Rājarāja.

(iii) But Tanjāvūr presents a very intriguing picture. Four temples are mentioned as being located in this centre which had been the capital of the Chōḻas right from the accession of its first ruler, Vijayālaya till the early years of the reign of Rājēndra I. Even in the days of Vijayālaya, we come across a temple at Tanjāvūr for Niśumbhasūdani. While no mention is made of this in the inscription, four other temples, namely, Eriyūr nāṭṭu taḷi, Tanjai Māmaṇikkōyil, Jayabhīma-taḷi and Brahmakūṭṭam, are referred to as being located in the capital city. We do not know if they were of brick or stone, if they had perished in course of time or were replaced by new structures under other names given to them. We are unable to identify any one of them with the existing structures. But there is perhaps one inference which seems valid to make on the basis of this inscription and other circumstantial evidence. It is that the present structure of Rājarājēśvaram was not raised over the site of an earlier, more modest, possibly a brick or brick-and-stone one, as is thought of by some, but was a new venture altogether. Otherwise, it seems difficult to believe that there were no taḷippeṇḍir attached to the earlier temple, if any. On the contrary, if there had been, then it is difficult to understand why they, or some of them at least, had not been taken over to perform the duties when the new edifice reared

1. Early Chōḻa Temples, by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, pp. 192–7. In ARE 579 of 1904, found on the walls of the Satyavāchakēśvarar temple, a reference is made to Tirumaṇḍaḷi Uḍaiya Mahādēvar.

its head. And if they had been taken over, then their names would have found definite mention in the inscriptions.

(iv) Paḻuvūr again is an interesting study. This centre which covered a widespread area of more than six kilometres each way, finds mention as the headquarters of a local family of powerful chiefs known as the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars. We have inscriptional evidence to show that even in the days prior to the Chōḻas, and during the early and even middle Chōḻa period, these chiefs had played a vital role in the history of this region. With the rise of the Tanjāvūr Chōḻas, they reinforced their own strength by entering into marital alliances with them. Paḻuvūr of the past is now split into three villages known as Kīḻaiyūr (which according to local inscriptions was called Perum-paḻuvūr or Mannu-Perum-Paḻuvūr), Mēlappaḻuvūr which is about a kilometre west of Kīḻaiyūr, and Kīḻappaḻuvūr. In the inscriptions, the last mentioned village of Kīḻappaḻuvūr is also called Sirupaḻuvūr, as contrasted with Perum-Paḻuvūr or Mannu-perumpaḻuvūr. The present day Sundarēśvara temple at Mēlappaḻuvūr was known as 'Pagaiviḍai Īśvaragriham at Mannu-Perum-Paḻuvūr', according to an inscription of the 5th year of a certain Parakēsarivarman.[1] This temple can, therefore, be identified without doubt as one of the two temples of Paḻuvūr, mentioned in Rājarāja's inscription on taḷip-peṇḍir; in fact, even the name is corroborated. But we are on weaker ground when we come to the other temple called Avani Kēsari Īśvaragriham in Rājarāja's inscription. We are aware that there are the following temples at the places mentioned below:

MĒLAPPAḺUVŪR	(i) Pagaiviḍai Īśvaragriham (Sundarēśvara temple)
KĪḺAIYŪR	(i) Avani Kandarpa Īśvaragriham (consisting of two shrines called Agastyēśvaram and Chōḻīśvaram)
KĪḺAPPAḺUVŪR	(i) Tiru Ālandurai Mahādēva temple (ii) Paśupatīśvaram (also called Maravanīśvaram)

None of these bore the name of Avani-Kēsari Īśvaragriham, the

1. 397 of 1924.

name mentioned in Rājarāja's inscription. The closest to it is of course the twin-shrine temple of Avani Kandarpa Īśvaragṛiham as mentioned above. But does the similarity, but not the total identity in names, warrant our identifying the latter as the former?[1]

(v) When we come to Pāchchil, the position is much clearer. About twenty kilometres west of Tiruchy on the Muśiri-Śalem road running along the northern bank of the river Koḷḷiḍam, is the village ofTiruvāśi, a corruption of tiruppāchchil (Āśraman) and to the immediate west of it, is Pāchchil-Amalīśvaram, presently called Gōpurapaṭṭi. At Tiruvāśi is an early Chōḻa temple dedicated to Tiru-Kaḍambatturai Mahādēva (now named Matsyapurīśvarar). At Pāchchil or Pāchchūr, as it is often called, is the temple of Pāchchil-Amalēśvaram. Opposite to it is the ancient ruined temple of Ādi Rangam, and close to it is another Śiva temple of the late Pallava period (of the age of Rājasimha) called Pāchchil Mēṟṟaḷi. Tiru-Kaḍambatturai Mahādēva temple can be identified as Tiruvāchchirāmam—an obvious corruption of Tiru-pāchchil-Āśramam—while the other two temples have the same names as are found in Rājarāja's inscription.[2]

These instances can be multiplied. An examination of each centre to identify and place in proper perspective the many temples of Rājarāja's days could lead to note-worthy results, but would be beyond the scope of this book. Of particular interest however will be a study of Paḻaiyāru or Paḻaiyarai (and its environs), which was a secondary capital of the Chōḻas from where two famous queens, Śembiyan Mahādēvi and Pirāntakan Kundavai Āḻvār, made extensive donations and grants to temples. As many as five temples are said to have been in existence at this centre, which must have been a sprawling city in ancient times. Of these, Vaḍataḷi, a temple located in the suburb known as Avaninārāyaṇapuram, contributed as many as a dozen taḷip-peṇḍir to Rājarājēśvaram. The other temples made

1. For a full discussion of Kīḻaiyūr and its environs, see Early Chōḻa Temples (AD 907–985), S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, pp. 317–26.
2. For a full discussion of these three temples see Middle Chōḻa Temples, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, Chapter 7, Sections 96, 97 (pp. 380–83).

only token contributions–three from Muḻḻūr Nakkan taḷi, five from Ten taḷi, three from Arali Erumān taḷi and one from Śangīśvara temple. We have no means of identifying these temples. Vaḍataḷi seems to have been in existence more than four hundred years prior to Rājarāja's reign, for we hear of this temple in connection with Appar's visit to Paḻayarai (7th century A.D). Paḻayarai was one of the important centres that Appar had visited during his pilgrimage through the length and breadth of Tamiḻ Nāḍu, undertaken after the eventful conversion of Pallava Mahēndravarman I from Jainism to Śaivism. As tradition has it, at the time of the visit, the Vaḍa taḷi (lit. meaning the northern temple) was in the possession of the Jainas and, as a result of his efforts, it was restored to the Śaivites.[1] Paḻaiyarai today is a straggling group of huts, hugging the collapsed perimeter wall of the neglected Sōmanāthēśvarar temple. But Paṭṭīśvaram, Rāmanāthan Kōyil, Tiruchchaṭṭimuṟṟam and Dārāsuram, all within a kilo-metre or two of one another, and all possibly part of the earlier palace city of Paḻaiyāru, tell the tale of a bygone glory.

NAMING PATTERN

Another line of study is the naming pattern prevalent among women in those days. With suitable modifications and feminine terminations, the names of kings, nobles and chieftains were adopted, like Rājarāja, Iravikulamāṇikkam, Śōḻaśuḷāmaṇi etc. The names of queens and female royalty were equally common, like Mādēvaḍigaḷ, Tennavan Mahādēvi, Panchavan Mahādēvi etc. Names of important and sacred places, temples and deities were also used, like Tiruvaiyāru, Eḍuttapādam, Tillaikkaraśu, Tiruvālangāḍi, Vēnkaḍam etc. Kāḍugaḷ, the name of a village deity, is of frequent occurrence. (A perusal of the second column in Appendix 20 will give further examples to the reader interested in this aspect of the matter).

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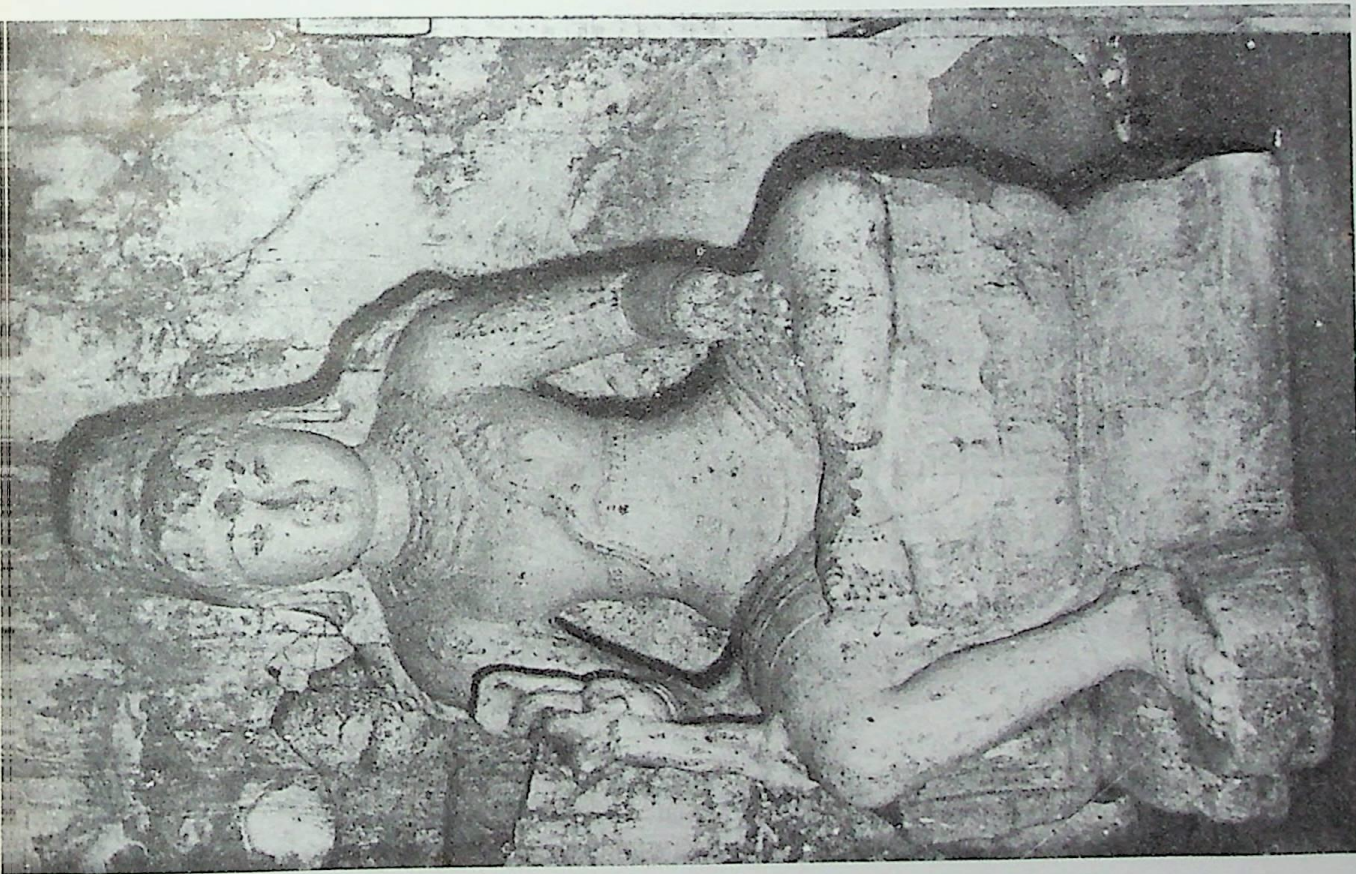
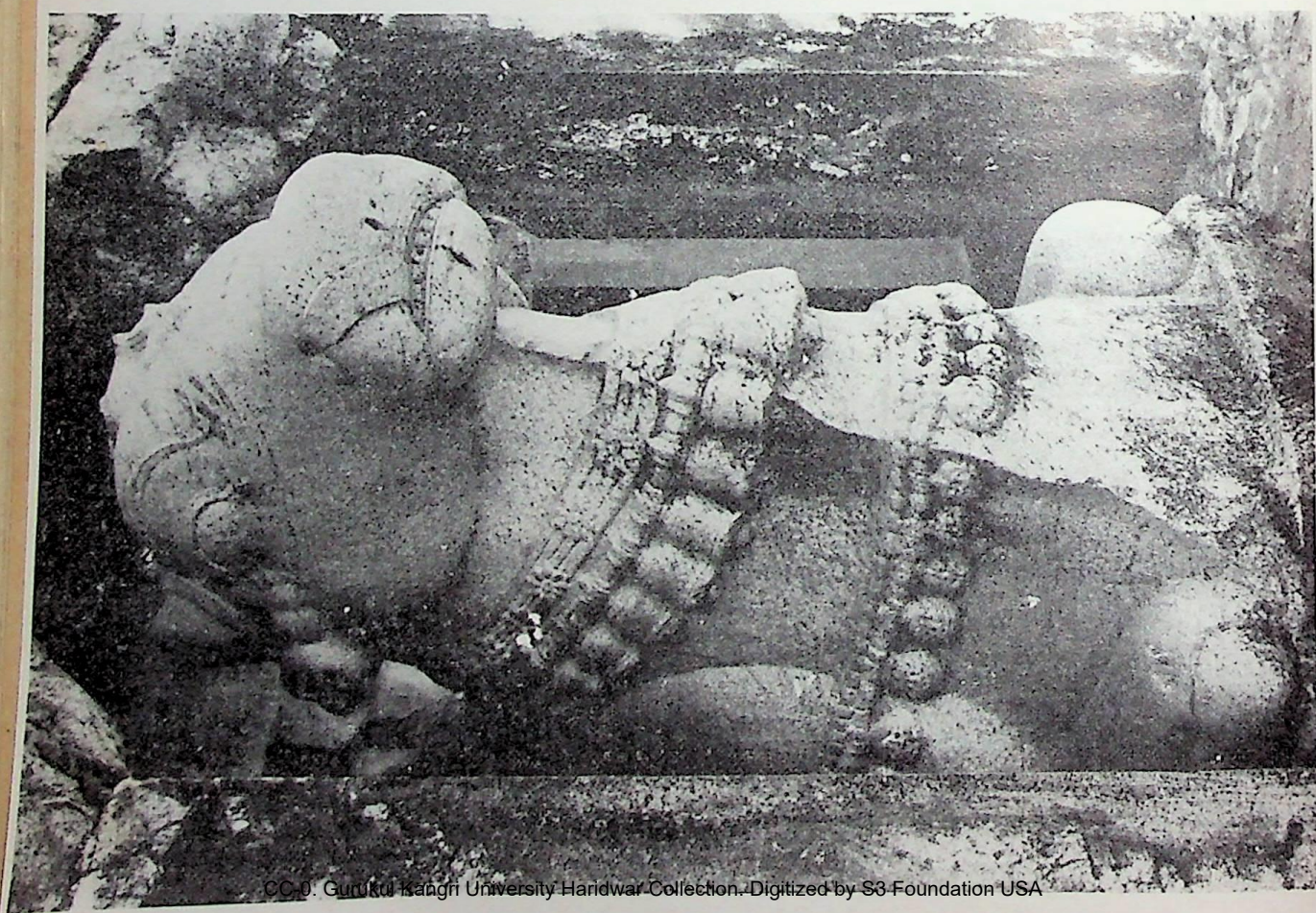
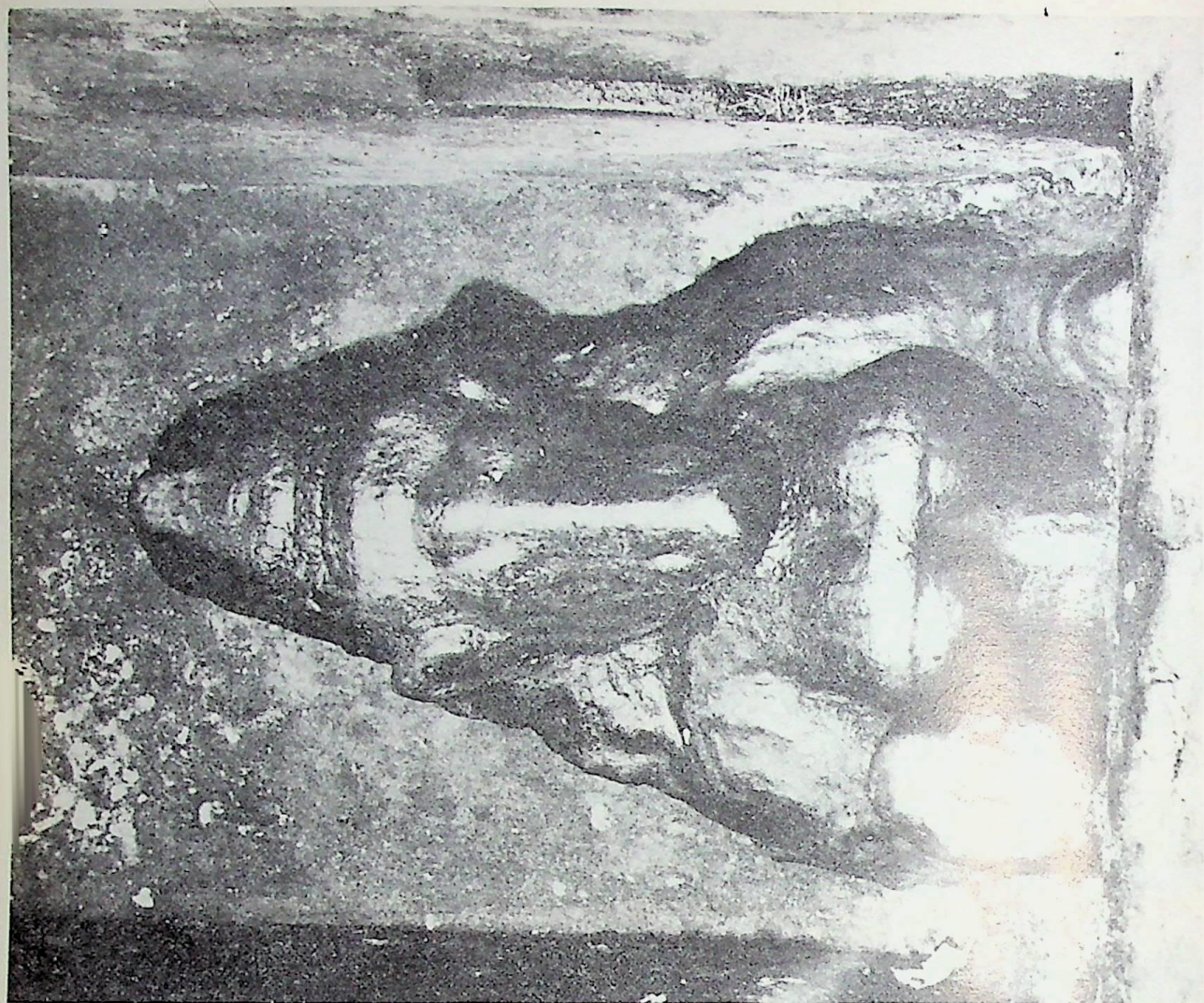
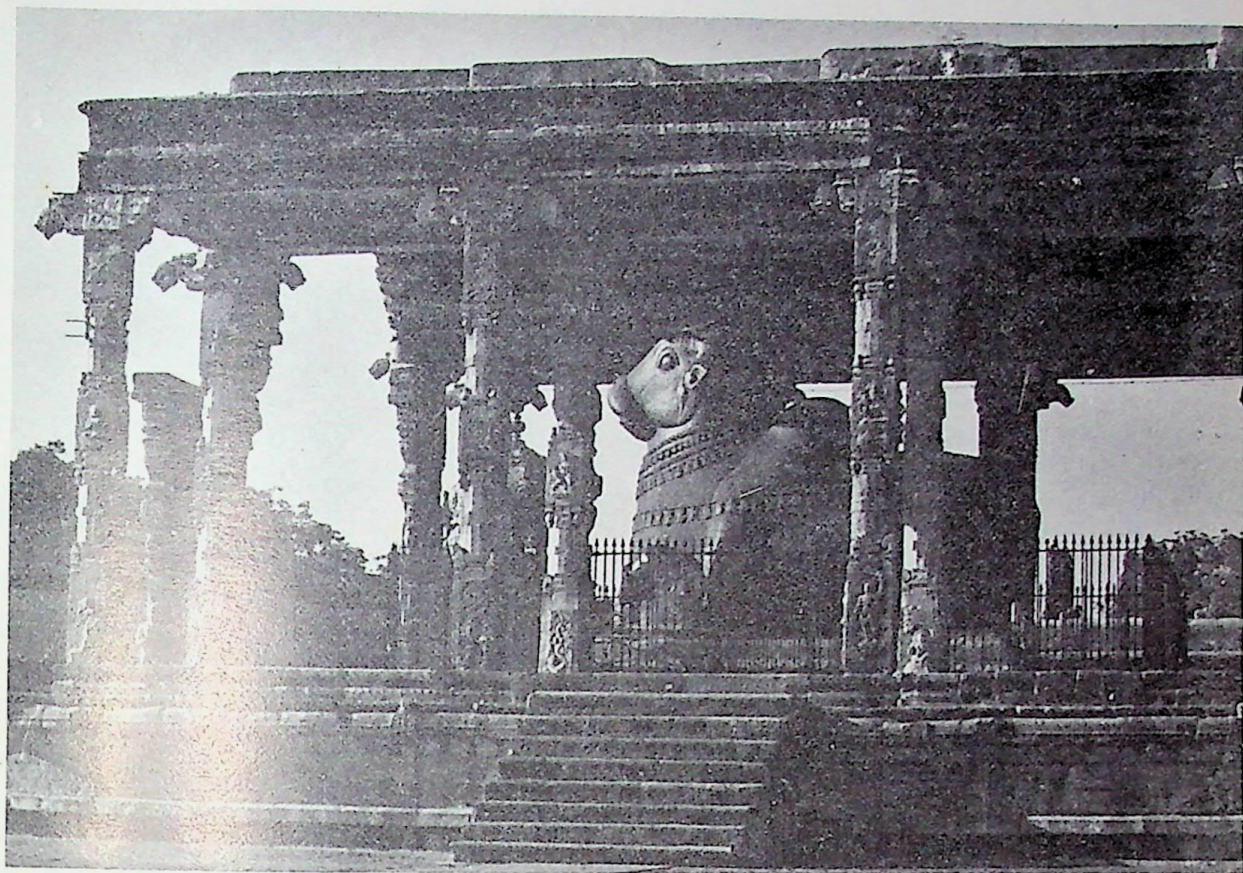
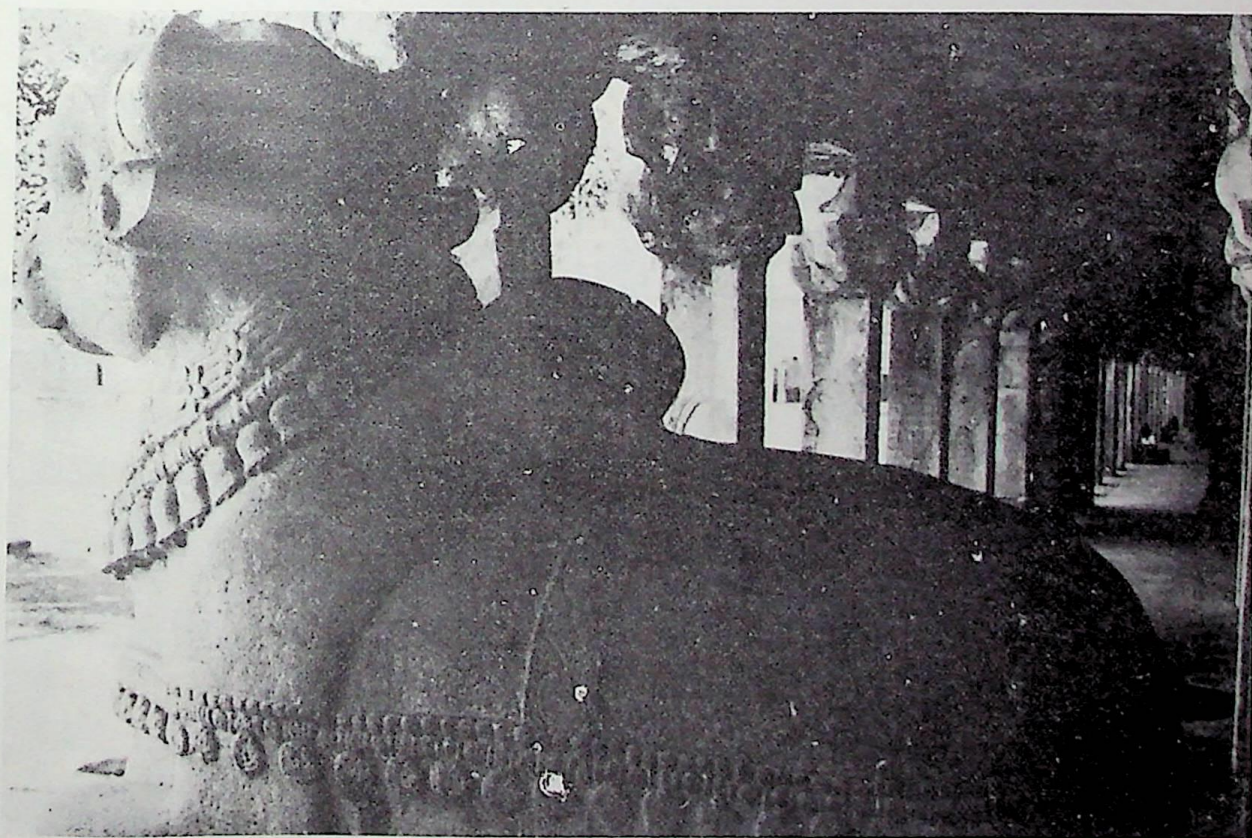
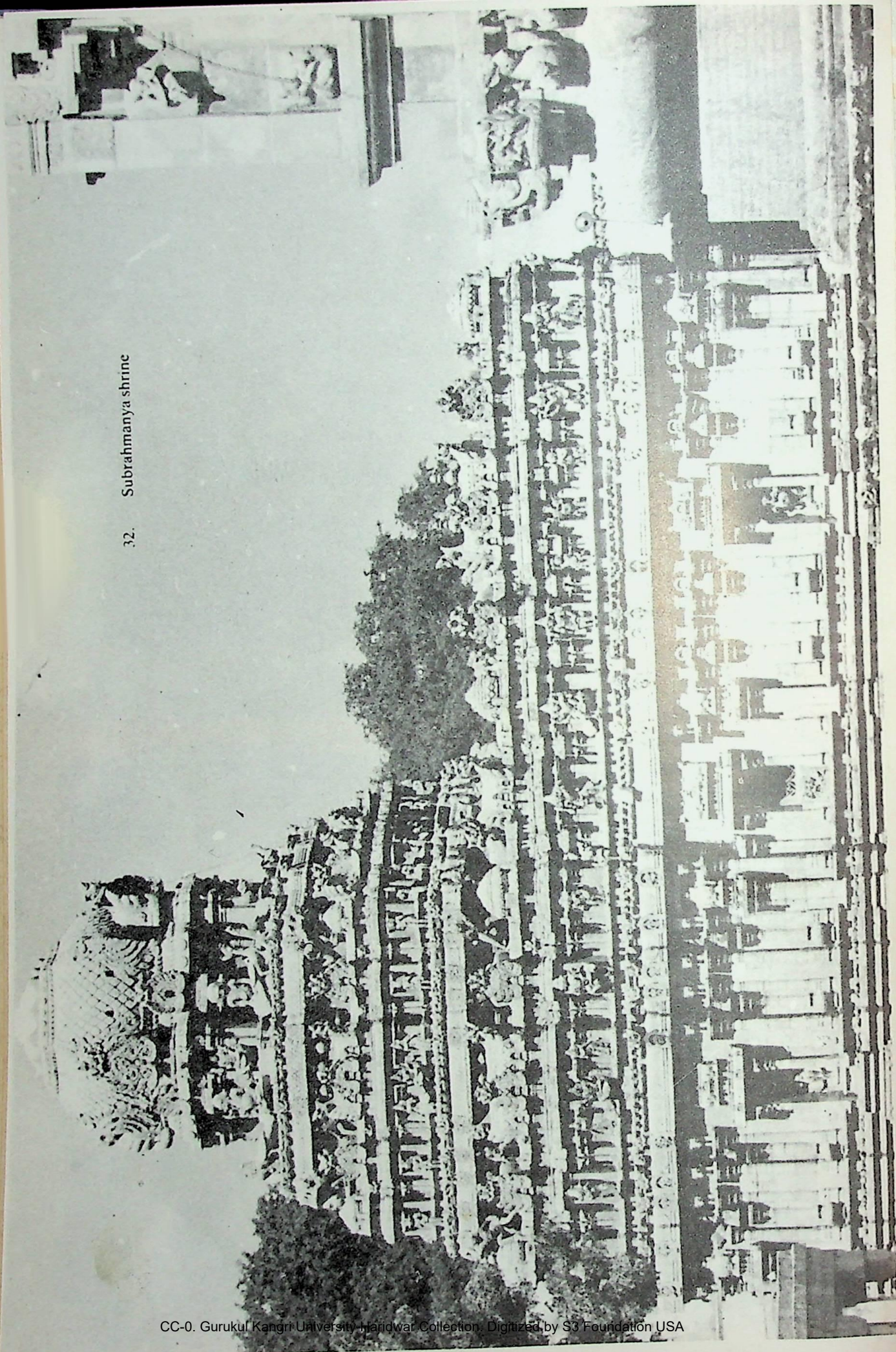
1. The city of the Cosmic Dance, B. Natarajan, p. 146.

29A. Varuṇa (a Dik-pāla) in the western prākāra

29B. Īśāna (a Dik-pāla) in the north prākāra

30A. Original Nandi of the main shrine (now kept in the southern prākāra)

30B. Vārāhi (from an original Saptamātrikā shrine?)

31A. The great Nandi in the Nandı maṇḍapa

31B. The original Nandi (of Rājarājan era-another view)

32. Subrahmanya shrine

DANCE AND MUSIC IN THE TEMPLE

Reverting to the appointment of various functionaries of the temple, the same inscription gives meticulous details. Six dance masters or dance conductors were appointed on an annual remuneration of two shares, a share being the value of the produce of one vēli of land. That was fixed at 100 kalams to be measured by the marakkāl called Āḍavallān, a unit of volumetric measure for grain. Some of them were evidently men of eminence in their line and were conferred such titles as Nrittya Mārāyan of Mummuḍiśōḻa or Nrittyap-pēraraiyan of Mummuḍi śōḻa. Four Directors of drama were also appointed on an annual remuneration of one share and a half. They bore such titles as Panchavan Mādēvi Nāḍagamayyan (nāḍaga = nāṭaka = drama). Two leading players of instrumental music were appointed, one of whom bore the title of Nitya Vinōda (a title of Rājarāja I) Vādya-mārāyan (vādya = musical instrument). Besides these masters were a number of other musicians, both vocal and instrumental; five singers, three players on the pipe known as vāngiyam, four others whose description is lost but who perhaps played on another type of pipe (as seen from the titles two of them bore, viz., Irumuḍiśōḻa Vādyamārāyan and Mummuḍiśōḻa Vādyamārāyan); two players on the uḍukkai, a small drum, and two vīnā players, one of them bearing what was evidently a title, viz., Śembiyan Vīṇai Ādityan. (In the last mentioned case, it was stipulated that in the event of the death of this incumbent, the share should go to his uncle's[1] son married to his daughter). In addition, there were three persons who sang the Vēdic hymns (called 'Āriyam' in the inscription, getting four shares and a half each; four who sang the Dēvāram hymns (the Tamiḻ Vēdas) getting 1¼ shares each; two who blew the muttirai śangu (a conch shell that possibly bore the inscription of 'Śivapādaśēkhara' or 'Rājarāja', muttirai meaning 'bearing the seal or signature of'), of whom one was drawn from the elephant regiment, called 'Mummuḍi-śōḻa-terinda-ānai-pāgan'; and

1. The expansion of the letter 'pa' to Śittappan meaning father's brother is not tenable, as the daughter would not have been married to her own father's brother's son, SII, II, 64, p. 275.

a number of instrumental accompanists for the main singer selected from the regiment known as 'Aḻagiyaśōḻa-terinda-valangai-vēlaikkārar'; one from the regiment known as 'Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-terinda-valangai-vēlaikkārar'; another from a regiment called 'Śatrubhujanga-terinda-valangai-vēlaikkārar'; and yet another from 'Vīraśōḻa Aṇukkar' (possibly also a contingent of the Chōḻa Army of security men). Valangai Vēlaikkārars were prominent during the middle Chōḻa period, and we continue to hear of them as crack troopers of the Chōḻa Army even to the days of Kulōttunga I of the later Chōḻa period.[1] Among the other instrumentalists should be added a number of drummers including one from the Brahmakūṭṭam temple at Tanjāvūr.

SERVICE FUNCTIONARIES

Besides these musicians were other executive functionaries of the temple like those 'who conveyed orders on behalf of the deity' (possibly at the behest of the committee in charge of the temple), and accountants, parasol bearers, lamp-lighters, water sprinklers, potters who made eathern utensils for the temple kitchen, and many others. The list does not end here, and enumeration reveals the Chōḻa love for administrative arrangements. Also mentioned are barbers, astrologers, tailors, a jewel-stitcher,[2] a brazier, chief and subordinate tachchans (carpenters or perhaps architects) and the chief superintending goldsmith. Apart from these, there is mention of an officer in charge of all the women employees of the temple (see also Appendix 22, p. 353).

There were in all more than eight hundred and fifty employees

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1. The other regiments (paḍai) mentioned are Rājakanthirava-terinda-valangai-vēlaikkārar, Rājarāja terinda valangai vēlaikkārar, Aridurgālaghana terinda vēlaikkārar, Mū(r)tta Vikramābharaṇa terinda valangai vēlaikkārar, Mummudiśōḻa parikkārar (cavalry) terinda valangai vēlaikkārar, Raṇamukhabhīma terinda valangai vēlaikkārar, Vikramābharaṇa terinda valangai vēlaikkārar, Iḻaya Rājarāja terinda valangai vēlaikkārar.
2. The inscription uses the expression 'rattina tayyan', thus making a difference between the stitcher and the fabricator of jewels. Perhaps, the reference is to the task of stitching precious stones and pearls on to cloth or any other base for the purpose of draping on the image.

in the temple.[1] This inscription thus gives us a peep into the elaborate arrangements for running an enormous socio-religious centre like Rājarājēśvaram. By a process of extrapolation we can also conceive of similar arrangements for religious services and social activities centered round other temples of that age.

A strange similarity can be seen in the administrative set-up in the temple of Lingarāja at Bhubanēśwar in Orissa where such temple servants have, down the centuries, been classified into 'chhattīs niyōgs', i.e., thirty-six functionaries who have now assumed subcaste categorisation. They include water-lifters, night watchmen, parasol-bearers, servants who fan the deity, carriers of bronze images to the temple cars, temple astrologers, blowers of kahāḷa, maśāla (torch) bearers etc., a complete list of which may be seen in Appendix 23, p. 354.

SUMMARY

From this inscription alone one gets a fund of information regarding the geographical and administrative divisions of the Chōḷa empire; in particular, details of the Chōḷa metropolitan province of Chōḷamaṇḍalam (Appendix 24), the administration of the affairs of the temple and the service complex, the prevailing wage and remuneration levels, the temples that were flourishing during the closing years of Rājarāja I with an indication of their relative importance and above all, the christening patterns that existed in that era and region. (See p. 356.)

1. The temple servants were:

Treasurer	: 4	Musicians	: 67
Accountant	: 7	Accountants	: 4
Asst. Accountant	: 9	Asst. Accountants	41
Brahmachārins	: 174		
Watchmen	: 141		847
Taḷip-peṇḍir	: 400		

SYSTEM OF HONOURS AND TITLES

We also gather a notion of social placements of prominent citizens in the empire and titles for men of eminence in various fields. For instance, the General and Minister Krishṇan Rāman was bestowed the title of Rājarāja Brahma-mārāyan. We have Vādya Mārāyans, Nāṭaka Mārāyans and various Pēraraiyans in their respective fields. The emperor also had two groups of nobles known as the perundanams and śirudanams. We wish we had more material to throw light on their raison d'être and also on their hierarchical structures.

ROLE OF TEMPLE WOMEN

The general, derogatory social place given to dēvaraḍiyārs, the servants of God, does not, at least in that era, seem to have been the lot of the taḷip-peṇḍir serving in the temple. These women, dedicated to the service of the temple (taḷippeṇḍir, the temple women or dēvaraḍiyārs, the servants of god, as they were variously called), seem to have served in various capacities in the temple. They gathered flowers from the temple garden (nandavanam), wove garlands for the deities, swept and cleaned the temple premises, drew water from tanks and wells for worship, danced and sang before the deity and rendered a variety of other services. Husking and cleaning paddy 'measured into the temple granary' would itself have wholly engaged the services of a number of women helpers, when one remembers that over 140,000 kalams of paddy were delivered annually into the 'temple treasury' (granary) most of which went as remuneration in kind to the temple servants. There is significance in the appointment of two senior supervisory functionaries, Śavvūr Paranjōti and Gōvindan Sōmanāthan, to oversee the performance of, and look after, the temple women (taḷippeṇḍir) and the women musicians (gandharvis). This would mean that great attention was given to their welfare and the maintenance of their respectability in society. Instances in the Later Chōḷa period are not wanting where wives and daughters of local chiefs and nobles of the Court were stamped with the trident as a mark of their entering a life of service to the temple.

CHŌḶA ARMY AND ITS ECHELONS:

This inscription also throws light on the Army echelons and the nomenclature used to describe its formations. Valangai Vēlaikkārars would appear to have been the backbone of the Chōḷa Army. Often regiments or contingents carried the designation of terinda valangai Vēlaikkārars, individual contingents being christened after one or the other of the many surnames of the emperor, past or present, or even after a noble. We have seen contingents of this type named after Rājarāja, Mummuḍiśōḷa, Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi and other surnames. We have also had occasion to mention the regiments connected with the temple affairs, such as Aḷagiyaśōḷa Terinda Valangai Vēlaikkārar, Mūrtta Vikramābharaṇa Terinda Valangai Vēlaikkārar and so forth (see foot note at p. 244). There were Archer regiments as well in the Chōḷa Army consisting of expert marksmen. Besides, there were elephant corps; one such unit mentioned in this inscription is Mummuḍiśōḷa Terinda-Ānaipāgans from which contingent came a conch-blower as a servant of the temple. Evidently, as in modern times the army had its own music wing, like the army band, with its conch-blowers and drummers playing on a variety of drums. References to cavalry units are not wanting. We have again a detailed reference to the army contingents in the inscriptions dealing with the arrangements for maintaining worship of the several metallic images gifted to the temple. One such unit was Valangai Paḷambaḍaigaḷitār (which literally means men of the old troops of the right-hand troopers) which was in charge of arrangements for worship of Kirāṭārjuna dēva, a metallic image set up by Udaya Divākaran Tillaiyāḷiyār.[1] Another was Niyāyam Perundanattu Valangai Vēlaikkārappaḍaigaḷ (the troops of the men of the right hand sect, attached to the Perundanam). Its detachment of archers called Paṇḍitaśōḷa terinda villāḷigaḷ (the chosen archers of Paṇḍitaśōla) were attached to the main deity of the Rājarājēśvaram temple.[2] Rājavinōda Terinda Valangai Vēlaikkārar who were a contingent of

1. SII, II, no. 9.
2. SII, II, no. 12.

a bigger unit of the Army known as the Niyāyam Perundanattu Valangai Vēlaikkārap-paḍaigaḷ, were attached to the principal deity of the Rājarājēśvaram temple. They deposited a sum of 310 kāśus on money interest with the local governing body (assembly) of Perumbalamarudūr (a brahmadēya in Perungarambai nāḍu) towards meeting the expenses required for the worship of this deity.[1] Similar grants in the form of interest bearing capital were made for the same deity by two other army units viz., Chaṇḍa-parākrama Terinda-Valangai Vēlaikkārar who donated 223 kāśus and Paṇḍita-śōḷa Terinda Villāḷiyar who donated 267 kāśus. We have some more instances of this type: for example the daily services to the metallic image of Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar set up by Rājarāja I himself were entrusted to Niyāyam Śirundanattu Valangai Vēlaikkārap-Paḍaigaḷ who deposited a sum of 1000 kāśus with the self-governing local assembly of the brahmadēya village of Kaḷappāl on an annual interest of 125 kāśus.[2] This regiment was evidently closely associated with the temple of Rājarājēśvaram, for mention is made of a number of deposits[3] entrusted by this unit with various village assemblies on interest basis. We have yet to grasp the full significance of the terms, Niyāyam Perundanam and Niyāyam Śirundanam. (For a full list of all the regimental units and sub-units of the Chōḷa Army during Rājarāja I's time, see Appendix 25.) From another inscription, also of this temple, we gather some information about the higher echelons of the Army structure. Dealing with the arrangements made for lighting the temple premises during nights, which we will have occasion to refer to in detail later, is an inscription in which there is reference to the names of fourteen military officers[4] of

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1. SII, II, no. 13.
2. SII, II, no. 14.
3. 1. 500 kāśus with Vanganagar in Purangarambai nāḍu (SII, II, 15)
   2. 300 kāśus with Kōḷi in Purangarambai nāḍu (SII, II, 16)
   3. 800 kāśus with Arinjigai Chaturvēdimangalam in Purangarambai nāḍu (SII, II, 17)
   4. 500 kāśus with Kundavai Chaturvēdimangalam in Īdaiyāl nāḍu (SII, II, 18)
   5. 500 kāśus with Panaiyur in Purangarambai nāḍu (SII, II, 19)
4. Perundandams:
   1. Uttaranguḍaiyān Kōn Viḍiviḍangan alias Villavan Mūvēndavēḷān
   2. Mārāyan Rājarājan
   3. Kaṇḍarachchan Paṭṭaḷagan alias Nittavinōda Villuparaiyan

(Contd. next page)

Rājarāja who were involved in the operations at Kōḷi (Uraiyūr, the ancient Chōḷa capital). Evidently the demands of Rājarāja I on the army chiefs were so exacting that these fourteen generals got together and sought the blessings of the Lord of Rājarājēśvaram to save them from any possible ignominy of defeat in the operations, and vowed to set up lamps in the temple for the success of the Army (Tammai Uḍaiyār Rājarājadēvar Kōḷi-p-pōril uttai-aṭṭaināl enru kaḍava) so that no filth be thrown on him in the war of the Lord Sri Rājarāja dēvar at Kōḷi.[1] From the list of these fourteen persons, we gather that eight of them were members of the Inner Council of the emperor (perundanams) and, among others, some were brāhmaṇas. We have already seen a notable example of a brāhmaṇa general in Krishṇan Rāman who built the first wall of enclosure of the temple. Evidently this community took to the Army too for a profession, though the bulk of the chiefs were drawn from the warrior classes. It will be interesting to study the names of these chiefs and the titles they bore. While on this subject, mention could be made of another type of service personnel utilised for guard duties. They were posted at the main gates to the temple and possibly at the main

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(Contd. from pre-page)

4. Āllattūr Uḍaiyān Kālan Kaṇṇappan alias Rājakēsari Mūvēndavēḷān
5. Lōkamārāyan
6. Rājakēsari Mūvēndavēḷan
7. Vaiyiri Śangaran
8. Kōvan Tayilaiyān
9. Name lost—Naduvirukkai Śeydār, a set of functionaries, who were arbitrators, evidently brāhmaṇās by birth
10. Śavandi Paṭṭan Puvaṭṭan Puvaṭṭanār (a resident of Kāmaravalli-chaturvēdimangalam)
11. Suvara Paṭṭan Puvaṭṭa Paṭṭanār (also a resident of Kāmaravalli-chaturvēdimangalam)
12. Dāmōdara Paṭṭan of Kaḍalanguḍi (Puvaṭṭa Paṭṭan and Dāmōdara Paṭṭan are mentioned in the Larger Leyden Grant).

General:

13. Sēnāpati Kuravan Ulagaḷandān alias Rājarāja Maharājan (evidently one of the important officers who participated in the empire-wide land survey and revenue settlement operations undertaken in the 16th year of Rājarāja I, a gigantic task already referred to in Chapter II).

Miscellaneous:

14. Amudan Tēvan alias Rājavidyādhara Villupparaiyan of Śembanguḍi (in Āvūr kūṟram, in Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu).

For other interpretations of this expression, and Dr. Hultzsch's views, see footnote at p. 477 of SII, II.

palace itself which adjoined the temple. We learn of this from an inscription[1] that deals with the financial provision made for meeting the expenses of service to and worship of the metallic images of Kalyāṇa Sundarar and his consort. (We have referred to them earlier as having been set up by Trailōkya Mahādēvi, one of the queens of Rājarāja I.) According to this epigraph, certain sums were deposited by Nyāyangaḷitār with various security guard detachments[2] so that the interest thereon might go to defray the expenses on the services and responsibiliiies entrusted to them.

TEMPLE ILLUMINATION

One cannot fail to notice the arrangements Rājarāja made for the illumination of the temple premises during nights and festivals. There are two lithic records in four bits[3] which dilate on this arrangement. Briefly, the king made extensive grants to shepherds drawn mostly from the city or neighbourhood of Tanjāvūr, but often also from distant places in the metropolitan province of Chōḻa maṇḍalam. With these grants the donees were to maintain cows, buffaloes or ewes and deliver a certain stipulated quantity of ghee (clarified butter) to the temple treasury for burning lamps. Calculations show that provision for supply of ghee for a night lamp was fixed at one uḻakku daily per lamp and this involved the maintenance of either 96 ewes 48 cows or 16 buffaloes. The inscriptions even mention the residential areas of the shepherds. One group of shepherds belonged to ten streets described as being outside the city

1. SII, II, no. 11.
2. i) Kēraḷāntaka-vāśal-tiru-meykāppār — 118 kāśus
   ii) Aṇukka-vāśal-tiru-meykāppār — 8 kāśus
   iii) Kēraḷāntaka-terinda-parivārattār — 35 kāśus
   iv) Jananātha-terinda-parivārattār — 5 kāśus
   v) Śingaḷāntaka-terinda-parivārattār — 5 kāśus
   vi) Parivāra-meykāppārgaḷ of Tenkarai nāḍu — 339 kāśus

   510 kāśus

3. SII, II, nos. 63, 64, 94 and 95.

(purambāḍi). These streets were—Gandharva teru; Villāḷigaḷ teru, Ānaikkaḍuvar teru, Panmaiyar teru, Maḍaipaḷḷi teru, Vīraśōḷa perum teru, Rājavidyādhara perum teru, Suraśikhā-Jayankoṇḍaśōḷa perum teru, Śāliya teru (in the city) and Maṇip-puram teru. Other shepherds lived in specified bazaars known as angāḍis or pērangāḍis of which we find mention of a few viz., Tribhuvana Mādēvi Pērangāḍi, Kongāvaḷar angāḍi and Rājarāja Brahma Mahārājan angāḍi. A third group of shepherds lived in premises in the Greater (outer) Tanjāvūr area. The localities were: Abhimāna bhūshaṇa terinda vēḷām, Uyyakoṇḍān terinda tirumanjanattār vēḷām, Arumoḷidēva terinda tirupparigaḷattār vēḷām, Uttamaśiliyār vēḷām, Panchavan Mādēviyār vēḷām, Pāṇḍi vēḷām, Rājarāja terinda tirumanjanattār vēḷām and Raudra-mahā-kāḷattu-maḍaiviḷāgam (a full list can be seen in Appendix 26, p. 362).

Thus, we have several urban locality categorisations. There were (1) the terus and peruntерus (lanes and streets) exclusively occupied by one category of professionals or army personnel like archers (villāḷigaḷ), ānai-āṭkaḷ (elephant troopers), ānaik-kaḍuvār (men engaged in looking after the army elephants) etc.; (2) exclusive military encampments, such as Śivadāsan śōlai alias Rājarāja Brahma Mahārājan Paḍaivīḍu (Paḍaivīḍu = a cantonment); (3) big and small business centres or bazaar areas known as pērangāḍis and angāḍis; (4) areas like maḍai-viḷāgam where temple servants lived; and (5) urban units termed vēḷams which perhaps housed a miscellaneous group of people who were attached to nobles and queens as personal servants and protective staff.

A host of shepherds and cattle-owners were endowed with land or cattle for supplying ghee for burning lamps. The heads of cattle thus endowed numbered 4124 cows, 6924 ewes and 30 she-buffaloes for supplying ghee daily at the rate of one uḷakku to a lamp. Our calculations show that on the basis of endowments the total numer of lamps were as many as 158. By way of illustration, we give in the note at the end of the chapter an English rendering of the grant in respect of two lamps—one from the first inscription and another from the second inscription. They illustrate the manner in which the endowments relating to each of these 158 lamps were made and were to be taken care of.

NOTE

(1) EXAMPLE I (from inscription No. 94, item 65):

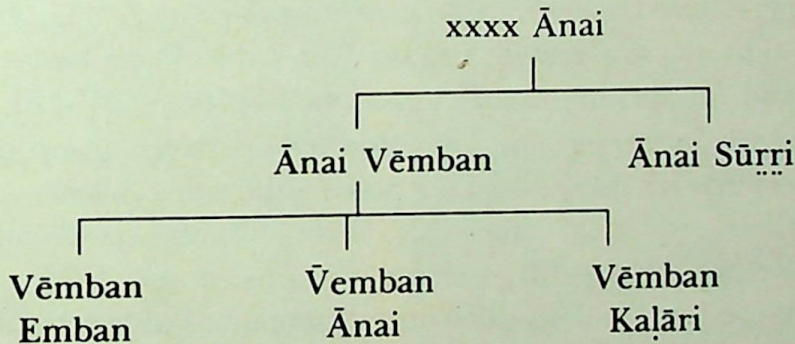
From the forty-eight cows assigned to the shepherd, Taliyan Arangan residing at Nāvalūr in Kirśūḍi nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Pāṇḍyakulāsani vaḷanāḍu, he himself and his dependants, viz., the shepherd Paṭṭan Tēvan living at Naraiyūr in Punrirkūṟṟam, a sub-division of the same nāḍu, and the shepherd Kanichchan Nāgan living in (the street called) Rājavidyādhara-perunderu outside Tanjāvūr, will supply one uḻakku of ghee per day for one sacred lamp by the Āḍavallān (measure).

EXAMPLE 2 (from inscription No. 95, item 20):

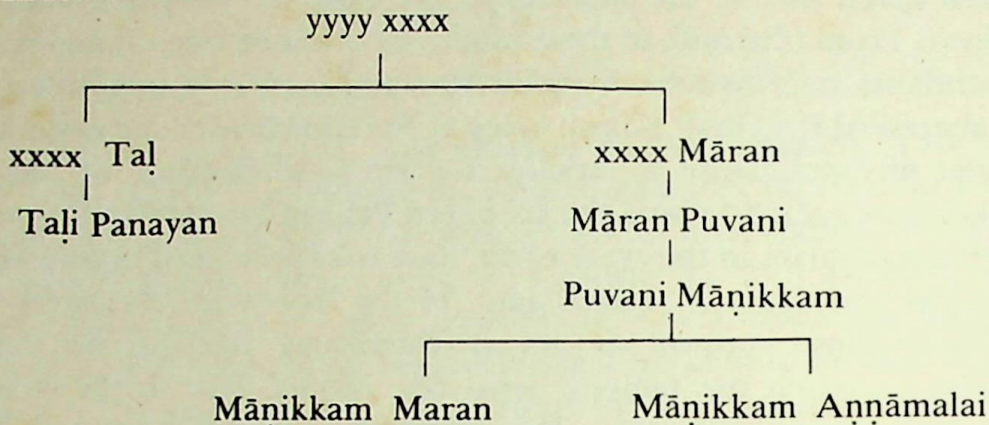
To the shepherd Eluvan Ayppāḍi residing at Perumangalam in Ārkkāṭṭu kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Pāṇḍyakulāsani vaḷanāḍu (were assigned) (a) ninety-six ewes in all viz., fifty-two ewes, which, at the rate of two ewes for each cow, (are equivalent) to twenty-six cows given out of the cows (surabhi) of the Lord Śrī Rājarājēśvaramuḍaiyār; (b) 12 (twelve) ewes (which could be got) at the rate of three for each kāśu, for the four kāśus given out of the money deposited by Ādittan Sūryan alias Tennavan Mūvēndavēḷān, the headman (kiḻavan) of Poygai nāḍu, for the sacred lamps for the images set up by him (c) three ewes (which could be got) for the one kāśu given out of the money deposited by Pūdi Śāttan, the headman of Mudūr, for sacred lamps; (d) six ewes, which could be got at the rate of three for each kāśu, for the two kāśus given out of the money deposited by Śavandi Paṭṭan Puvaṭṭan Puvaṭṭanār of Kōṭṭaiyūr, a subdivision of Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu, who held the office of arbitrator (nāḍuvirukkai) to (i.e. under ?) the Lord Śrī Rājarāja dēva, for the sacred lamps (which he) vowed to put up 'in case no filth was thrown (on) him in the war of the Lord Rājarāja Dēva at Kōḻi; (e) twenty-one ewes which could be got at the rate of three for each kāśu, for the seven kāśus given out of the money deposited for sacred lamps by the Perundanam Śembanguḍaiyān Amudan Tēvan alias Rājavidyādhara of Śambanguḍi in Āvūr kūṟṟam, (a subdivision) of Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu, and (f) two ewes (which could be got) for the five

akkam given out of the treasury of the Lord Śri Rājarājēśvaram uḍaiyār. From (the milk of these ninety-six ewes) he himself and his dependants viz., his sons Ayppaḍi Marapaḍi and Ayppaḍi Paṭṭan; the shepherd Kūttāṭṭaḷi Kaṇṇi, living at Narikkuchchēri, the eastern hamlet of Śandiralēgu in Ārkāṭṭu kūṟṟam (a subdivision) of Pāṅḍyakulāsani vaḷanāḍu; and the shepherd Pananguḍi Purambi living at Perumangalam in the same nāḍu, have to supply (one) uḻakku of ghee per day for one sacred lamp, by the Āḍavallān (measure).

From these records we get an interesting sidelight on the manner in which the father's name was carried over to the sons as is the vogue even now. For shepherd Vēmban Emban was evidently the son of Vēmban, for his uterine brothers are called Vēmban Ānai and Vēmban Kaḷāri, Ānai and Kaḷāri being their personal names. The father's (i.e. Vēmban Emban's father's) younger brother was Ānai Sūṟṟi, from which we could deduce that Sūṟṟi was the name of the younger brother and his father was some Ānai. Thus Vēmban and Sūṟṟi were the sons of Ānai. The grandfather's name (Ānai) is taken by one of the grandsons, as the tables below will illustrate:

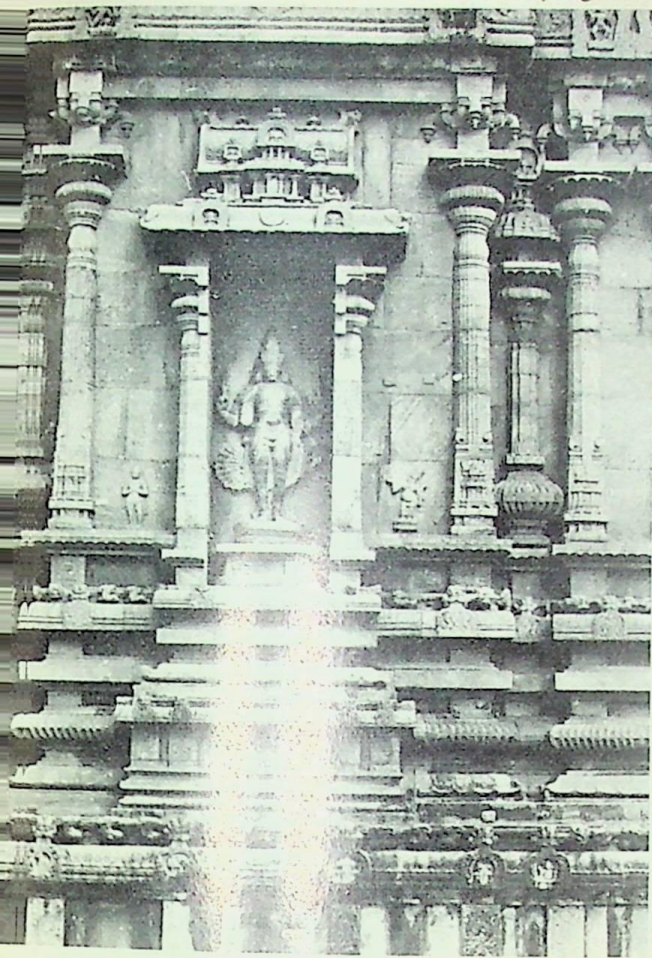
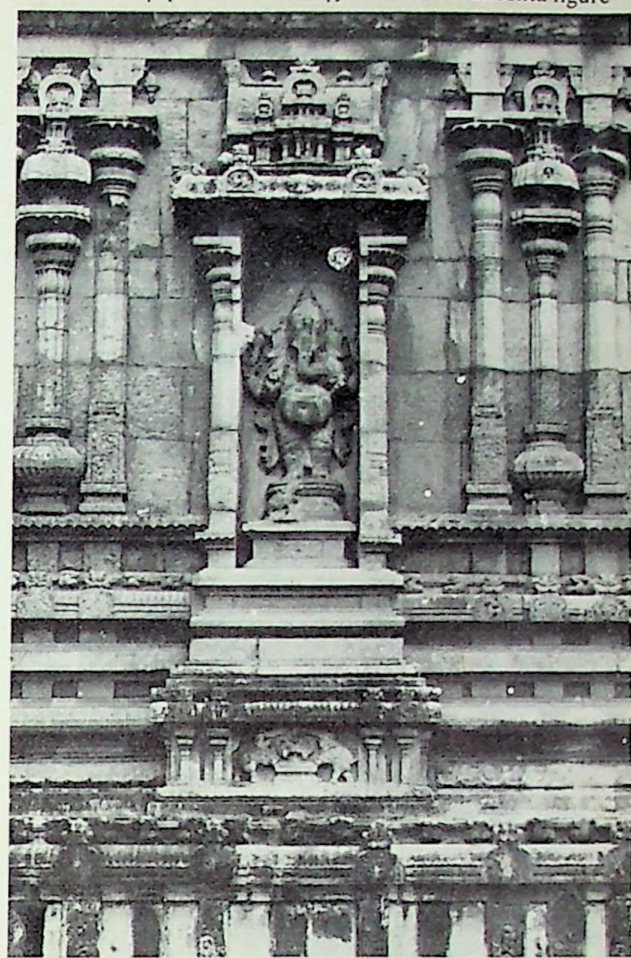
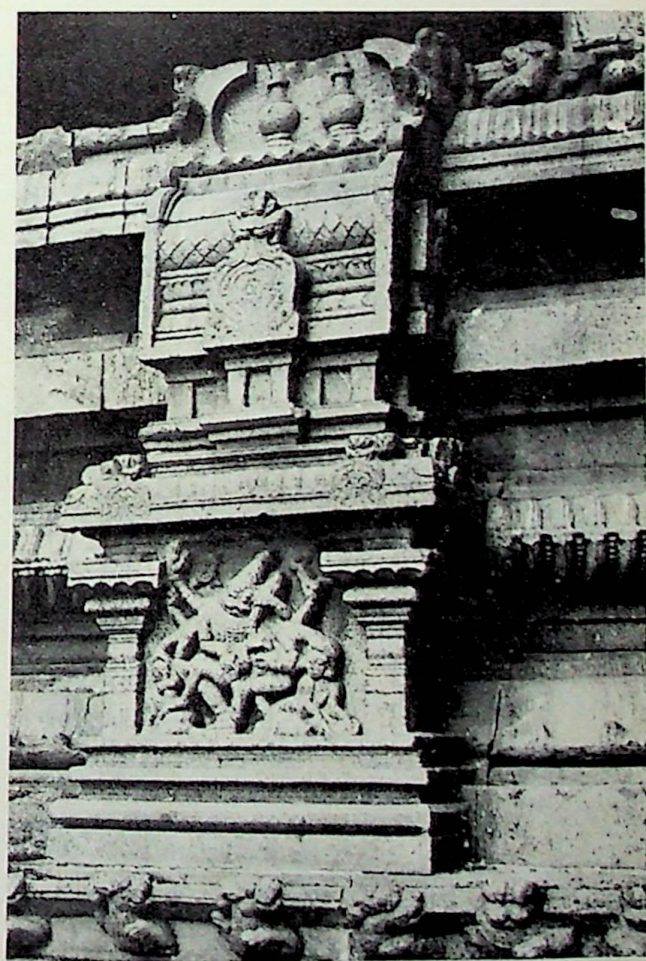
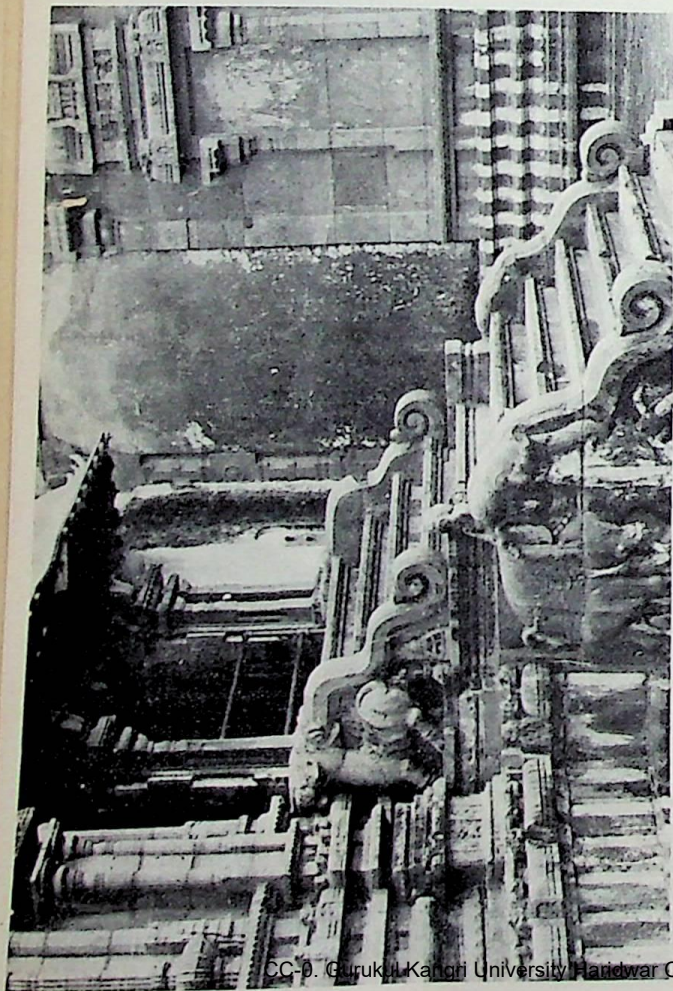
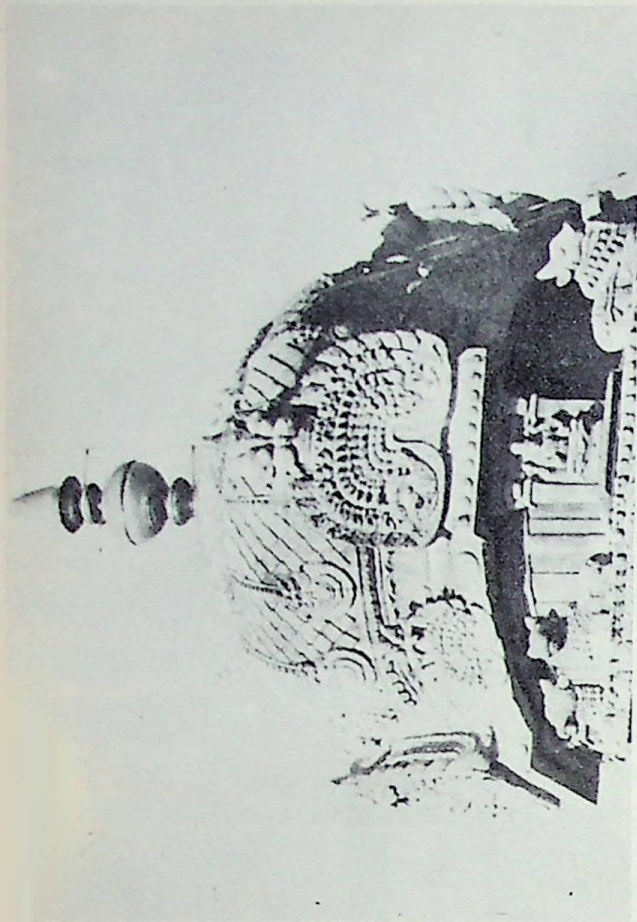
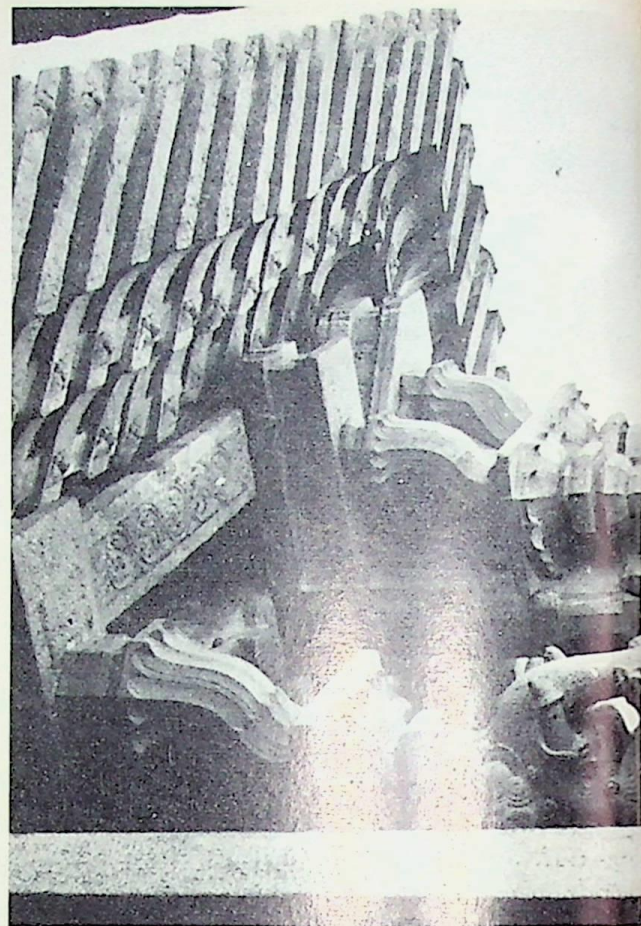
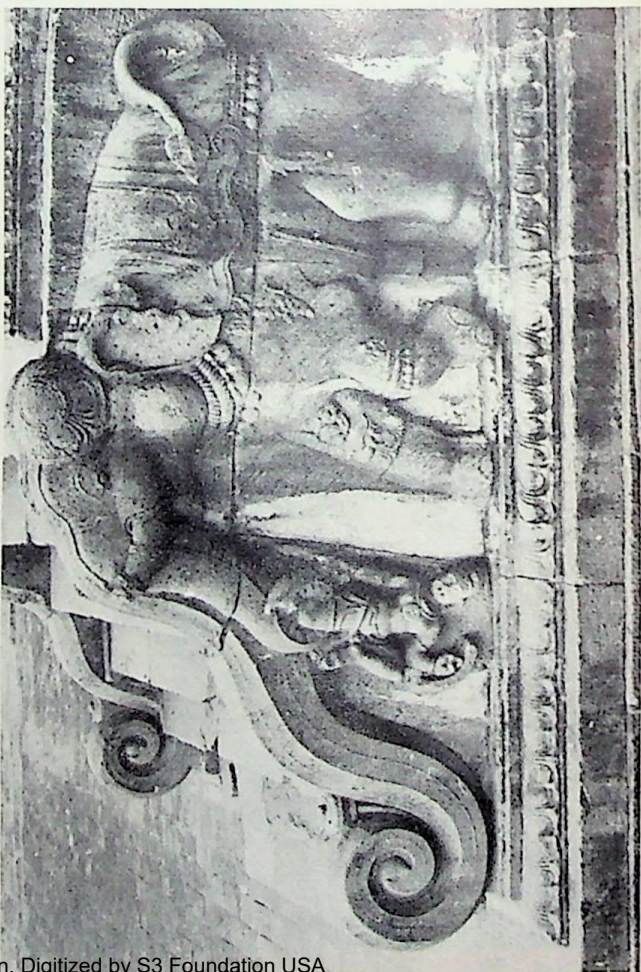
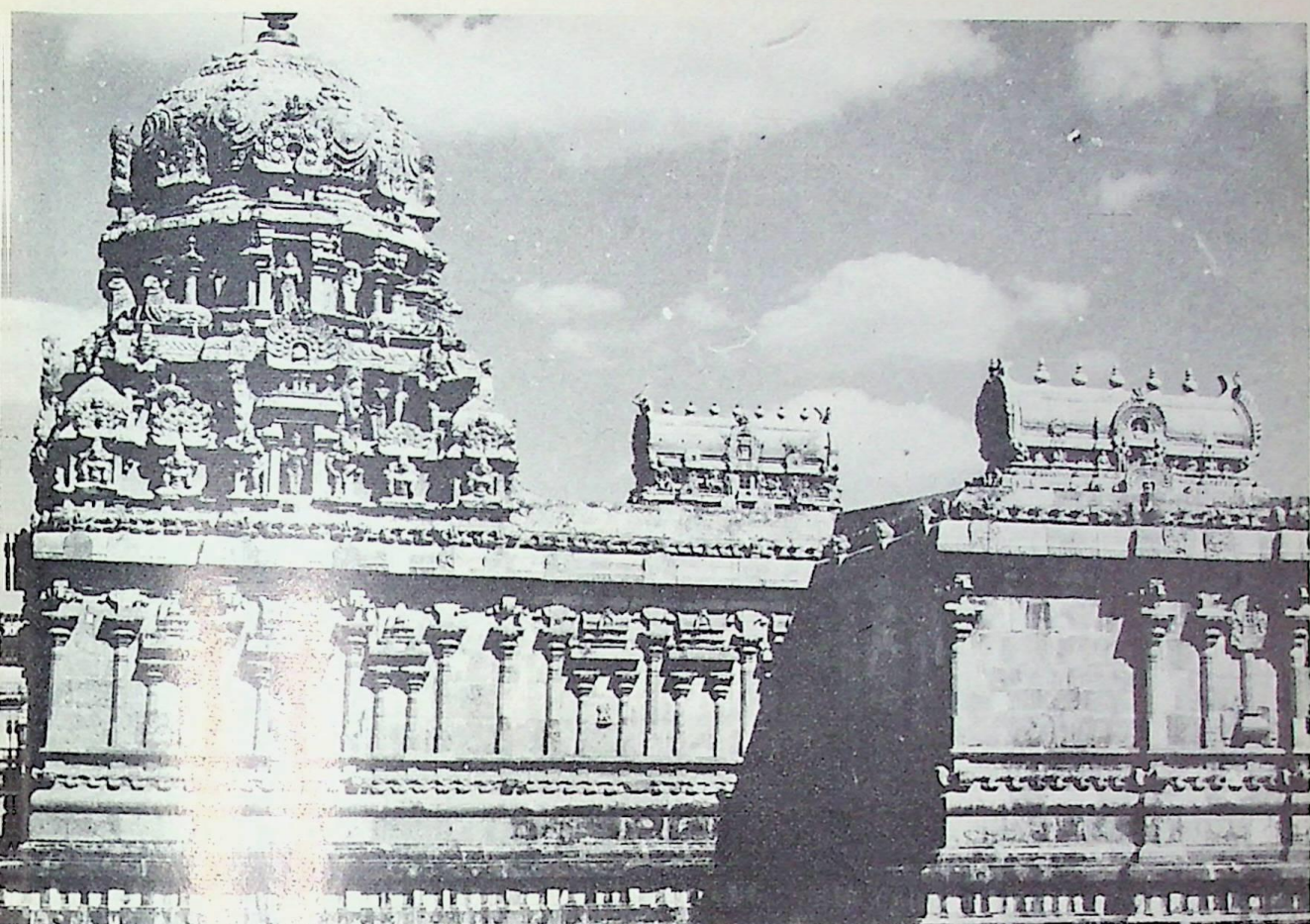
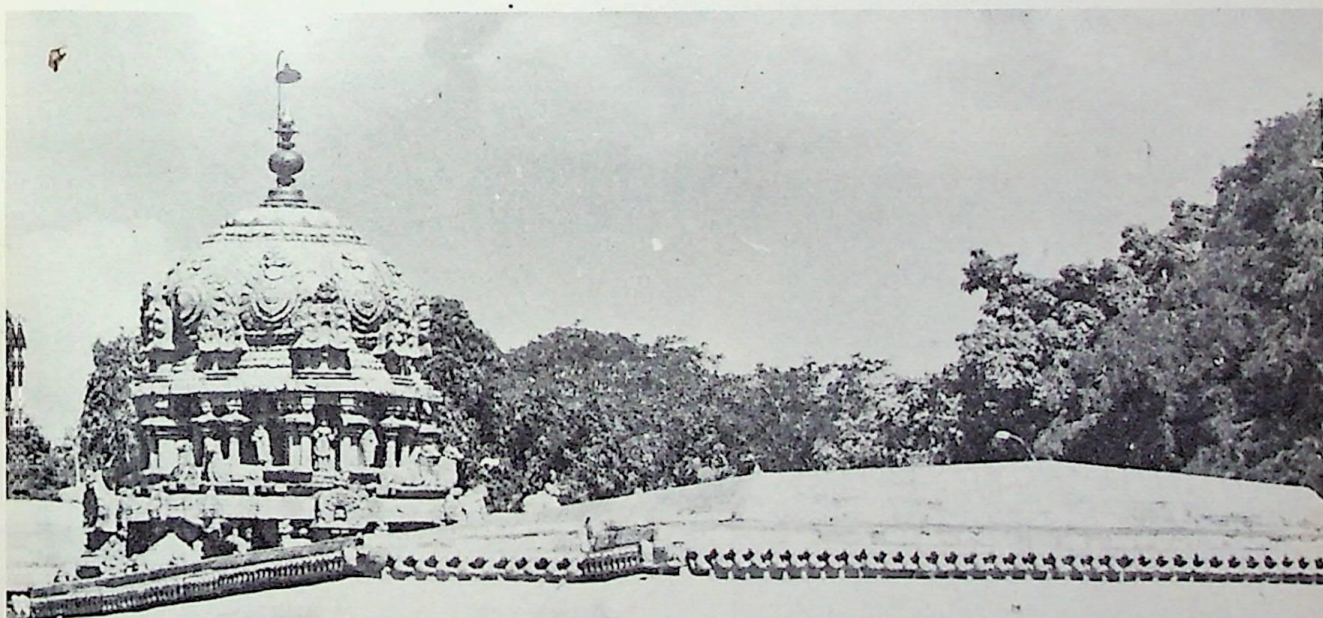
Illustration 1[1]

A second example is given below:

1. The common practice then would appear to have been, as it is even to-day, for the eldest grandson to inherit the paternal grandfather's name. So Vemban Anai was evidently the eldest. In the second illustration, it is the great-grandfather's name that has been taken on, which also is in consonance with current practice as well.

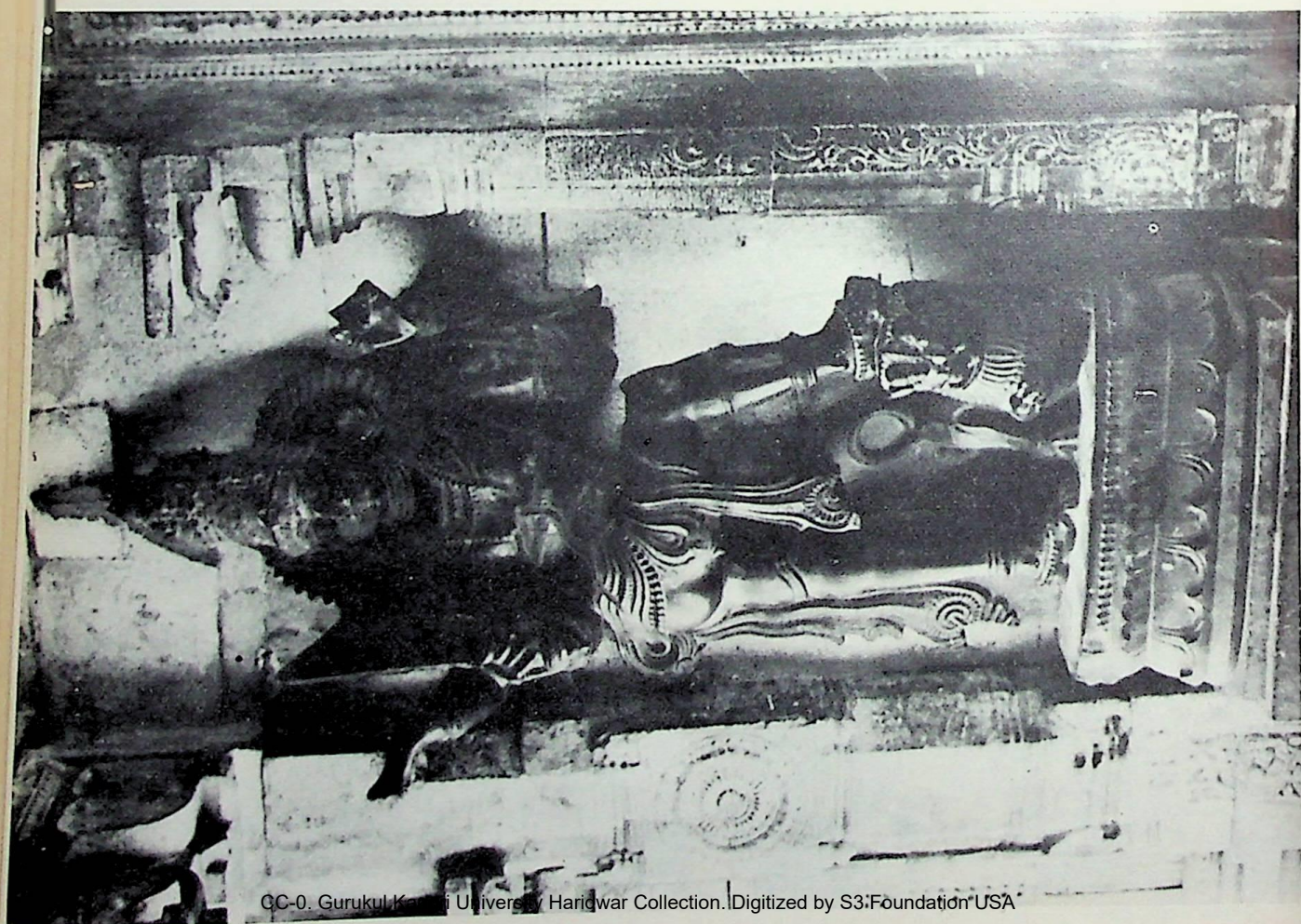
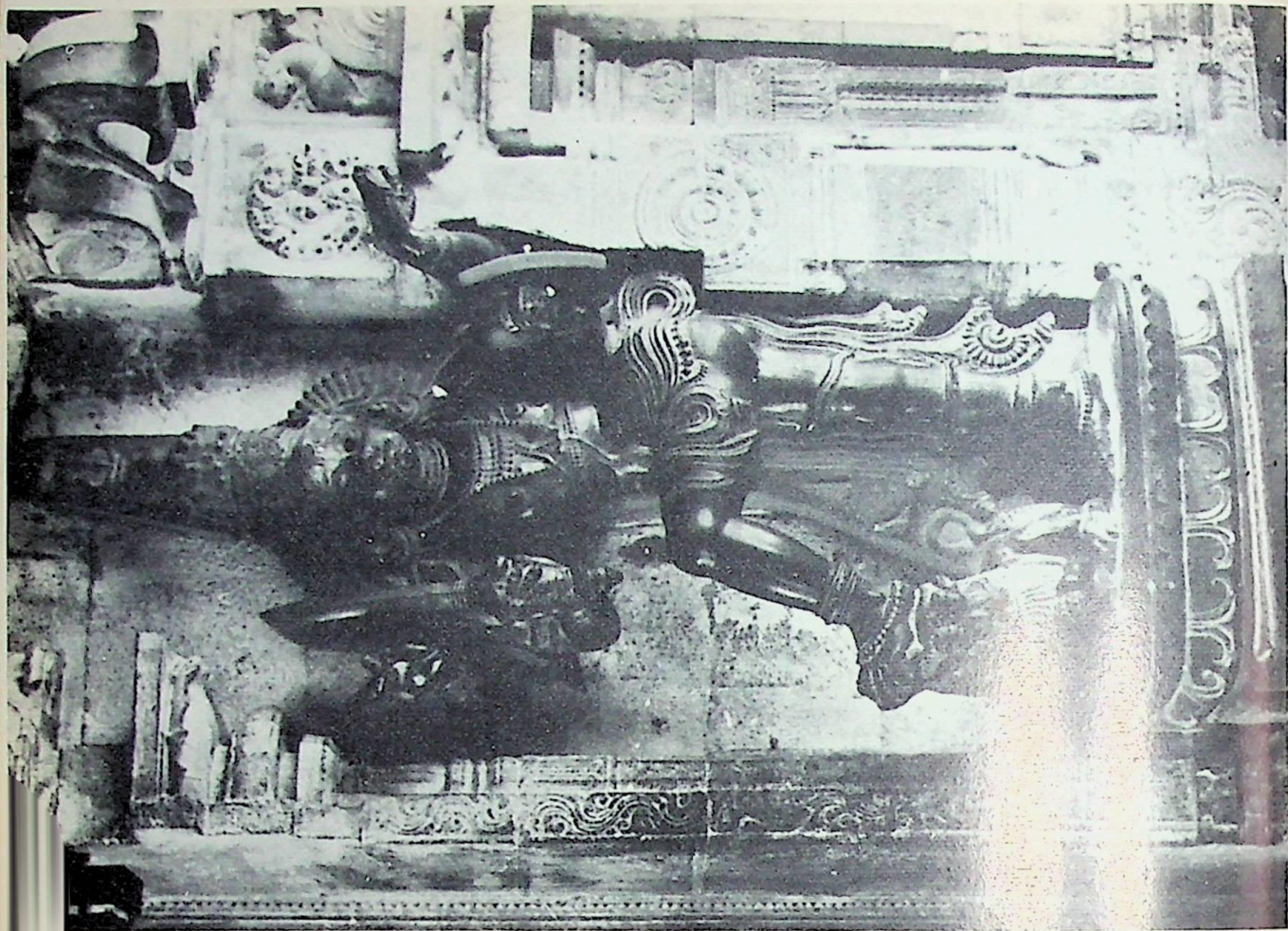
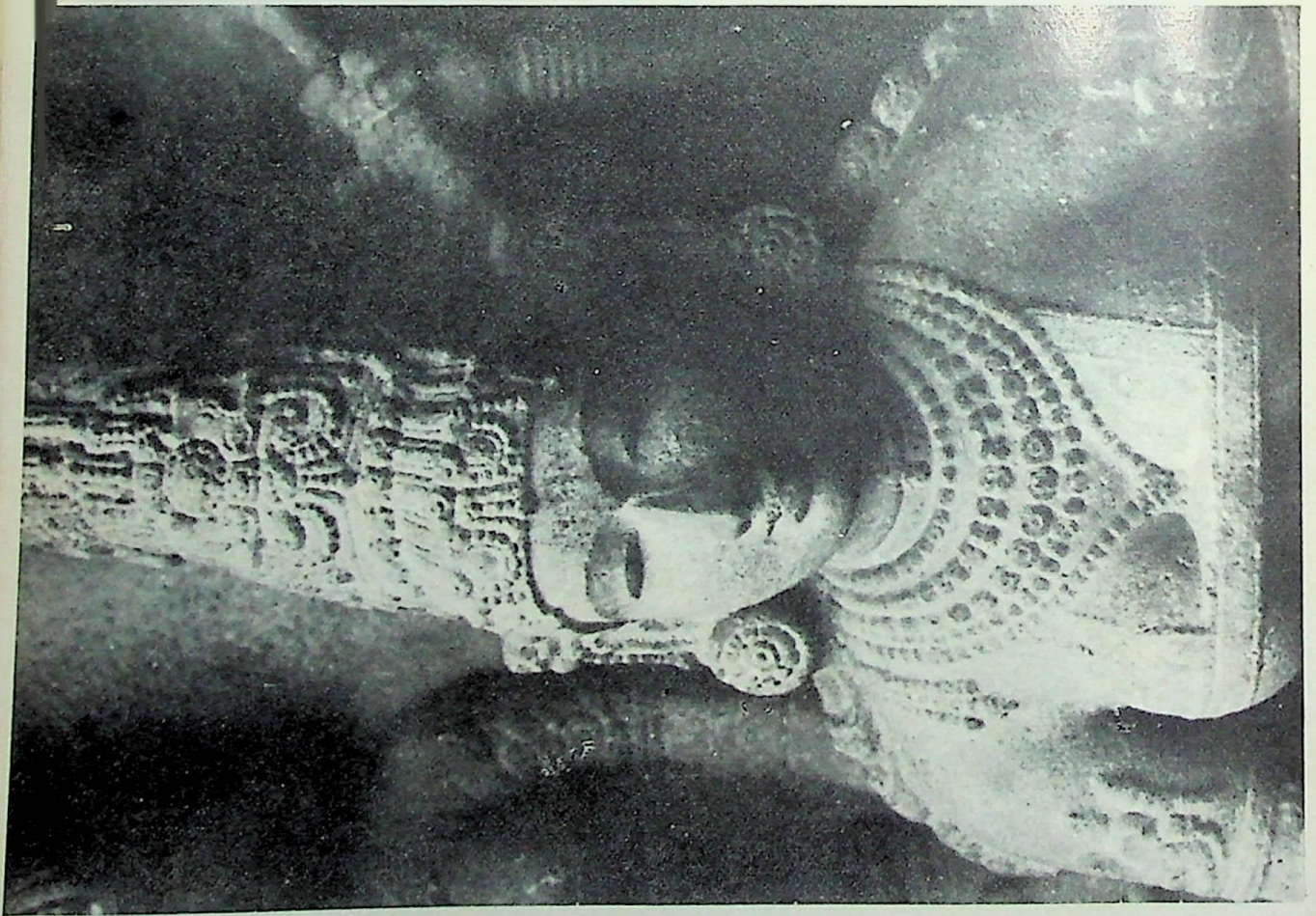
Illustration 2

TIRUPPADIYAM SINGING AT THE TEMPLE

In conclusion, any summary, however brief, cannot be complete while dealing with either Rājarāja I or Rājarājēśvaram, the temple of his creation, if mention is not made of his dramatic recovery of the Saivite scripture, the Dēvārams which had been lost for over three centuries, when it fell to his great good fortune to recover them from the white-ant-eaten pile of cadjan leaf manuscripts in a corner of the temple of Lord Naṭarāja of Chidambaram. He held them in such great respect that he deified the Scriptures, calling them Dēvāra Dēvar, and as we saw earlier endowed an icon of this deity to the temple. And for reciting the Tiruppadiyam before the Lord of the Śri Rājarājēśvara temple, he appointed fifty persons, comprising 40 musicians (Piḍārar), one person for playing/the small drum(uḍukkai) and another to beat the big drum (koṭṭi-maddaḷam) in accompaniment.[1] These fifty persons were to receive from the city treasury of the Lord, a daily allowance (nibandam) of three kuruṇi of paddy each, measured by the marakkāl called Āḍavallān which was equal to a Rājakēsari. Elaborate provision was made for competent succession in the event of death or emigration of any of them. The names of these functionaries (vide Appendix 27) are of great significance to us, as they help us to identify the Tiruppadiyam with the Devaram. (For further details, see Note 2 at p. 371.)

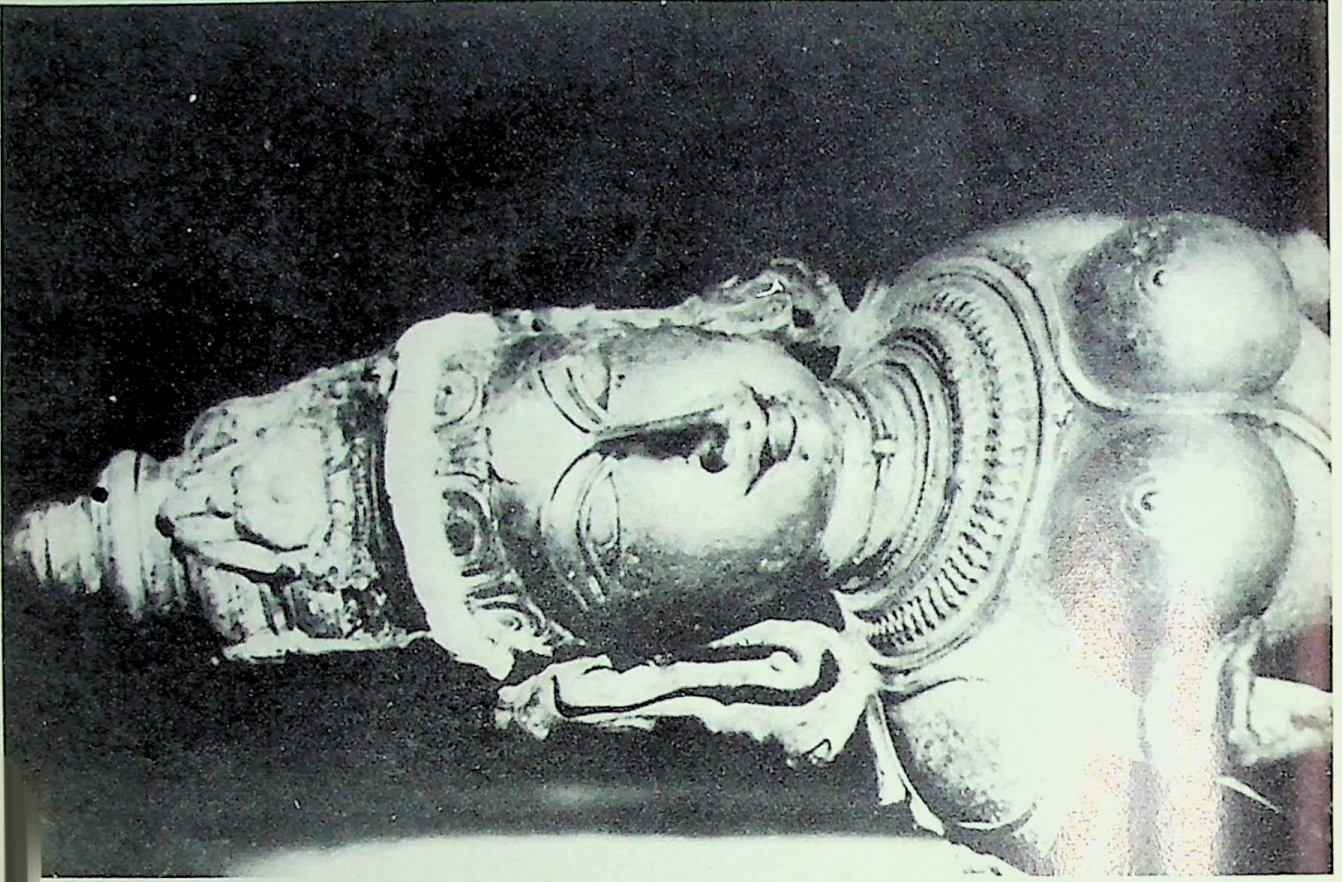
1. SII, II, 65

A.. Kārtikēya, Subrahmaṇya shrine, dēvakōshṭa figure

33B. Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya shrine, dēvakōshta figure

33C. Durgā, Subrahmaṇya shrine, dēvakōshṭa figure

33D. Addorsed miniature aedicule (mini-shrine) on adhishtāna (Narasimha-avatāra panel)

34A. Subrahmaṇya shrine, balustrades of flanking flight of steps

34C. Chaṇḍikēśvara shrine, grīvā-sikhara, close-up

5)A. Ulagamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ (Amman) shrine

35B. Sabhā maṇḍapa

37A,B,C and D: decorative panels depicting Paurānic themes etc.

38. Naṭarāja (metallic image)

39. Naṭarāja, close-up

40A. Bust and ornamentation details of Sarasvati (29)

40B. Bust and ornamentation details of Pārvati (bronze)

11

Later History

In conclusion, in order to provide a complete link-up with the present, we may briefly survey the contributions made by the succeeding dynasties to the growth of Rājarājēśvaram.

1. UNDER THE LATER CHŌḶAS (Till A.D. 1279)

We hear very little about this temple during the tumultuous period of the reigns of Rājēndra I and his eldest son Rājādhirāja I, who were both great warriors constantly involved in their wars of expansion in the north and the east (A.D. 1012 to 1054). Partly their pre-occupation with these wars, and partly the stupendous venture of building a new capital city on the northern banks of the Koḷḷiḍam and raising a magnificent temple that later on was to become a close second to Rājarājēśvaram, would seem to explain the eclipse Rājarājēśvaram had suffered in the post-Rājarājan period. Perhaps Rājarāja I had set the temple on an even keel, and there was very little that the successors needed to do to expand, widen or embellish the temple. Nor was there need for new endowments. Rājarāja had already taken care of its minutest requirements, services and maintenance.

We may skip over these years to come to the reign of Rājēndra (dēva), the second son of Rājēndra I. In his 6th regnal year (A.D. 1058), almost fifty years after the temple had been consecrated, Rājēndradēva—the Chōḷa emperor of the battle-of-Koppam fame who had defeated Āhavamalla, the Western Chāḷukyan emperor made provision for staging a play called Rājarājēśvara-nāṭaka, at the great festival of the Lord Śrī Rājarājēśvara. The royal order ran:

'We have assigned an allowance to the ....actor (Śānti Kūttan) Tiruvālan Tirumudukundrān (the Tamiḻ equivalent of Vriddhāchalam) alias Vijaya Rājēndra Āchāryan and to the members of his dramatic troupe (varga)'. It was addressed to the temple managers and the accountants, signed by the royal Secretary, Udāra Viḍanga Viḻupparaiyar. It was dated on the 160th day of the fourth year of the reign of the king. A second order signed by the royal Secretary, Edirili Śōḻa Mūvēndavēḷān and addressed to the Daṇḍanāyaka Parakēsari Pallavaraiyan on the 160th day of the sixth year of the king, authorised that the earlier order be engraved on the walls of the temple. A further direction that the same order be engraved on the temple wall was given by Rājarāja-Brahma-mārāyar, whose exact locus standi.is not clear. According to this order, one share of 120 kalams of paddy per year was to be given to Vijaya Rājēndra Āchāryan; and one tuni of paddy per day, measured with the marakkāl called Āḍavallān which was equal to a rājakēsari, was to be given as an allowance to him and to the members of his troupe.

Unfortunately, the text of the play is lost to us. Evidently, as its name implies, it was an enactment of the exciting story of the creation of Rājarājēśvaram. Many of the incidents of war and peace that had preceded it may have been a part of the theme of the play.[1]

Arumoḻi Nangaiyār, the queen (nampirāṭṭiyār) of Vīrarājēndra dēva (the third son of Rājēndra I), who succeeded Rājēndradēva would appear to have intended to make, or actually made, some donations to the temple, but the record has remained incomplete, as seen from an inscription of the 15th year of Kulōttunga I.[2] The only other record belonging to this period, is engraved on the south wall of the first and second tiers, and is dated in the 64th day of the 35th year of the king (A.D. 1105). It refers to the king merely as Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān, but from the contents of the inscription and the reference in it to the villages concerned in the grant, it should be attributed to Kulōttunga I. The grant has nothing to do with the Rājarājēśvaram temple, and as happened in many such cases, it possibly was engraved on the

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1. SII, II, no. 67.
2. SII, II, no. 58.

nearest stone temple when the temple to which the inscription actually related was not of stone. (A similar example is found in Tirchchengāṭṭāngudi, where an inscription relating to the temple of Tirukkaṇṇapuram, a nearby centre, was engraved for purposes of permanent record). The record mentions, in passing, the existence of a defensive wall called the Mummaḍiśōlan madil, named after Rājarāja I, in the southern part of the city of Tanjāvūr. Presumably it was built during his life-time. The record relates to the disposal of the lands in Śungam-tavirtta-śōḻa-nallūr, a new village named after the king's common appellation of 'Śungam-tavirtta-śōḻan' (the Chōḻa who abolished tolls). This village, close to Tanjāvūr, formed a part of Karundiṭṭaikkuḍi,[1] which lay on both the banks of the Vīraśōḻa-vaḍavāru, the river flowing immediately to the north of Tanjāvūr. The village was divided into 108 parts, of which 106 were granted to the brāhmaṇas of Sāmantanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emperumān. Sāmantanārāyaṇa, a Toṇḍaimānār, was a feudatory and a prominent member of the royal court. He evidently created the village and raised the Vishṇu temple (named after him) in the days of Kulōttunga I. It would be an interesting exercise to identify the village of Sāmantanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdi-mangalam and, incidentally, the temple of Viṇṇagara Emberumān also, a foundation of the days (35th year) of Kulōttunga I.[2]

Of less than a decade later is a record of the 4th regnal year (A.D. 1124) of Vikrama Chōḻa, the son and successor of Kulōttunga I, from which we learn by implication that the administration of the temple of Rājarājēśvaram as established in the closing years of Rājarāja I had been going on smoothly. For, this inscription records that the king Vikrama Chōḻa ordered that the allowance which had been permanently enjoyed by the grand-father of Rājarāja Pallavarayan, who measured the paddy in the temple, be given to the grandson too, and the latter (who presumably bore the alternate name of Puduvuḍaiyān Arayan Uḍaiyān) being dead, the king further ordered that one share be assigned to his son Uḍaiyān

1. Even today it continues to be a northern suburb of Tanjāvūr town, with the slightly changed names of Karunadaṭṭāngudi or Karandai for short.
2. SII, II, No. 22.

Kallālai and his family, on the stipulation that he should also discharge the function of measuring the contents of the upcountry treasuries belonging to the Rājarājēśvaram temple. In other words, even though the importance of the city of Tanjāvūr had dwindled considerably, following the shifting of the capital to Gangaikoṇḍaśōḻapuram, quite far from the earlier capital, Rājarājēśvaram at Tanjāvūr continued to enjoy its importance even after the lapse of more than a century. Its functionaries evidently continued to serve in the same way as in the days of Rājarāja.[1]

Almost a whole century goes by without our having any lithic records in the temple of Tanjāvūr. Chronologically the next record to be found in the temple is dated in the 3rd regnal year of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1219). It reflects the disturbed conditions in the empire, a state of affairs from which even Tanjāvūr, the heart of the empire as well as of the metropolitan province, was not free. This inscription does not record any gift or grant, but registers a political compact that had become the order of the day in the last decades of Chōḻa hegemony. Three chiefs of the Chōḻa country entered into this compact,[2] pledging that they would be faithful to the king and stand by one another. The year A.D. 1216 formed a turning point in the history of the Chōḻas. After the three crushing defeats that he had inflicted on the Pāṇḍyas, Kulōttunga III celebrated the Vīrābhishēkam and Vijayābhishēkam and called himself Tribhuvanavīra. In fact, he built a temple of victory named Tribhuvanēśvaram dedicated to Śiva at Tribhuvanam (near Kumbakōṇam, Tanjāvūr district). But the Pāṇḍyas never wholly admitted the overlordship of the Chōḻas. The defeated Pāṇḍyan ruler, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara died of sorrow and shame at his utter humiliation. But his son, Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, vengeful and angry,mustered a powerful army and invaded the Chōḻa kingdom to wipe out the shame. Old age, repeated wars, and a general loosening of the grip of the emperor over the outlying provinces which had been straining at the leash of Chōḻa imperial hold, led to a reversal of Chōḻa

1. SII, II, no. 68.
2. In fact, there were two such compacts now known to us as found recorded on the walls of the temple at Sengāmā in the South Arcot district (ARE 1899–90, pp. 32, 33).

fortunes. Tribhuvanavīra deva was worsted in the battle of A.D. 1216, which reduced the Chōḷa empire to almost the metropolitan province of Chōḷamaṇḍalam, and the humbled Kulōttunga III was forced to give place to his son Rājarāja III, who, a weakling and a mere shadow of the imperial Chōḷa, drifted through life with only a nominal hold over the truncated kingdom. It is to the state of affairs of the 4th year of this ruler (Rājarāja III) that the inscription here refers. Three local chiefs from the vaḷanāḍus (districts) of Pāṇḍyakulāsani, Nittavinōda and Śuttamalli agreed that none of them would disobey His Majesty Ulaguḍaiya Nāyanār (an obvious reference to the Chōḷa king), and that the one who became the enemy of any of the contracting parties would become the enemy of the remaining two. This is the last occasion on which we hear of the Chōḷas in connection with this temple.

ii) UNDER THE PĀṆḌYAS (1250–1350)

While dealing with the description of the temple complex, we have had occasion to refer to the Pāṇḍyan contribution to it. Tanjāvūr had perhaps shrunk into relative neglect after the Chōḷas had vacated the political stage, for, we hear very little about the temple or the city during the subsequent Pāṇḍyan rule. There is however a stray exception of a single addition in the form of the Amman shrine.

AMMAN SHRINE

This is a foundation dating back to the period of Pāṇḍyan hegemony over the Chōḷa region of the Kaveri basin. Based on the inscription dated in the second year and 334th day of a Pāṇḍyan ruler who designates himself as nothing more than mere Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān, we come to know that the shrine of Ulagamuḷudum Uḍaiya Nāchchiyar (now called Brihannāyaki Amman shrine) was built during his rule.

This record contains an order from the king to the authorities (tānnattār) of the temple (kōyil) of the Lord of Śri Rājarājēśvara at Tanjāvūr and runs as follows: "From the month of Vaikāśi in the

second year (year of our reign) we have given as tax free land eleven vēlis in the village of Kōṭṭakārkuḍi in Viḍaiyapura paṟṟu (which forms) the western portion of Arumoḻidēva vaḷanāḍu, for providing raw rice (amudupaḍi) and other requirements to (the image of) Ulagamuḻudum Uḍaiya Nāchchiyār, which we have set up in this temple."[1].

The village of Kōṭṭakārkkuḍi bore the alternate name of Ulagāṇ-ḍa-nāyaki nallūr, obviously christened after the same deity.

The only other Pāṇḍyan record, which also refers to the king in the same vague manner (as Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān), adverts to the rectification of certain irregularities about the sale of temple lands. The king ordered that certain dēvadāna lands of the temple which had been unauthorisedly sold in the third and fourth years of the king's reign, should revert as tax-free temple lands, as of old, from the sixth regnal year. This order of the king was signed by the Minister and five other royal officers.[2]

This shrine faces south and is north of the recumbent Nandi in front of the central shrine of Rājarājēśvarar. There are two inscriptions engraved on the west wall of this shrine. We have already referred to one of them. Conceived as a single architectural piece, it consists of the garbhagriha, the antarāḷa, the mahāmaṇḍapa and the mukha-maṇḍapa, all stretched along a north-south axis, which extended, cuts through the Nandi of the main shrine. The śrīvimā-na is an ēka-taḷa structure, raised on a low upapīṭham and adhish-ṭhānam. The latter is a miniature version of that of the central shrine, with all its mouldings, followed, as one goes up, by the vēdi and the ādibhūmi. The garbhagriha walls are in three different, vertical planes, the central bhadra bay with the dēvakōshṭa projecting outward from the flanking karṇa bays. The karṇa wall surface is divided into two halves by a pilaster, one half being a plain even surface, and the other decorated with a kōshṭapanjara design. The pediment over the niches is not the usual makara-tōraṇa found on the walls of the main shrine but a miniature śāla design in tune with the kōshṭa-panjaras. These characteristics are also extended to the

1. SII, II, no. 61.
1. SII, II, no. 21.

walls of the other maṇḍapas of the shrine, except to those of the mahāmaṇḍapa, where kumbha-pancharas are seen in the karṇa halves. A common entablature terminates the wall of all the maṇḍapas, running the full round of the shrine. It has its friezes of bhūtagaṇas and yāḷis, with the kūḍu-adorned cornice in the middle. Over the prastara, there is a superstructure in the garbhagriha portion only, the rest of the hall being covered by a flat roof. The śrīvimāna has a śāla with a kōshṭa and two kūṭas at the corners with midget niches between the kūṭas and the śālas. The hāra rings round a platform that rises to the level of the śālas and kūṭas and, after a prastara with the usual components, ends up in a flat square platform with twin nandis in the four corners, followed by the octagonal grīvā and śikhara on top. In the śrīvimāna there are four grīvā-kōshṭas and cupping the upper part of the śikhara is a padma (lotus) with petals spread out and a kalaśa in the centre. The dēvakōshṭas in the garbhagriha house the Śaktis, Ichchhā Śakti, Jnāna Śakti and Kriyā Śakti. This shrine is a fine example of Pāṇḍyan art in Chōḻa dēśa and has suffered in attention by comparison with a giant structure dominating the courtyard.

From the only other inscription[1] in this temple, we come to know that a certain Mallappa Nāyakkar had ordered the inhabitants of the village to build the maṇḍapa of the Mūrti-Amman. The inscription is interesting, for it is here that we get the clue to the modern, erroneous, but commonly used name of Pēruḍaiyār or Periya Uḍaiyār for the deity of the central shrine of Rājarājēśvaram built and christened as such by the founder of the temple. The text is as follows:

"1) Tanjāvūr Periya Uḍaiya Nāyanār Kōyil Mallappa Nāyakkar Maṇḍapam
2) Mūrti Amman maṇḍapam Puliyūrār tanmamāha kallu varuhaiyi-
3) nālum avargal paṇṇina ooḻyattinālum Sannadiyil Odukkum pira-

1. SII, II, no. 62.

4) Sādam Kaṭṭalaiyiṭṭapaḍiyālē Chandrādittavaraiyum naḍakkavum".

This inscription refers to the main shrine as that of Periya Uḍaiyār, the great Lord, but in all probability the Amman continued to be called Ulagamuḻuduḍaiya Nāchchiyār. However, the Nāyak and later the Marāṭha rulers of Tanjāvūr evidently sanskritised the term Periya Uḍaiyār to Brihat-Īśvarar and, by a process of extrapolation, made the consort of the Lord the great Lady or Brihat-Nāyaki or Brihannāyaki. Neither of these names of the Lord and the Amman has, however, the sanction of inscriptions.

The temple administration is seen to be still in the hands of the four functionaries (i) the Panchāchāryas, 'who wear the silk garment in token of serving the Lord of Rājarājēśvaram', (ii) the Dēva kānmis (the priests), (iii) the Kaṇkāṇis (who oversee the smooth functioning of the Śrīmāhēśvarās of the temple in all its aspects) and (iv) the Śrīkāryam-seyvārs (those who carried on the management of the temple). Tanjāvūr was still in Pāṇḍyakulāsani vaḷanāḍu, and the flower garden named Gangaikoṇḍasōḻan set up by Rājēndra I in Karuṇṭiṭṭaikkuḍi was still blooming after two hundred and fifty to three hundred years or so.

iii) IN THE VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD (A.D. 1336–1550)

In Śaka 1368 (A.D. 1446–47), a certain Vallabhadēva, presumably a military officer of the Vijayanagar ruler, Dēvarāya II, made a gift of a few gold and silver ornaments,[1] with the object of seeking

1. They are:
   1. One big diadem (paṭṭam) containing 20 t. (8½ degree fineness)
   2. One diadem .. 17 to 8 pi. (8 degree fineness)
   3. One diadem .. 6 to 2 pi. (8 degree fineness)
   4. One neck-ring (paṭṭaikkārai) 2t. (8½ degree fineness)
   5. Two joined neck-rings .. 3 t. (8½ degree fineness)
   6. One nose ornament (mūkkutti) .. 2 pi.
   7. Two eyes for the deity (tiruk-kaṇ-malar) 1 t. (9 degree fineness)
   8. One pendant (padakkam) 4 t. (8 degree fineness)

   t — tūkkam; pi — paṇa iḍai; 10 pi — 1 tūkkam

   Based on a Malayāḷam work entitled Kaṇakkusāram, which formed the basis of Sir Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India, which is quoted by the Editor of SII, II, the latter thinks that tūkkam and paṇa iḍai must be identical with the kaḻanju and paṇat-tūkkam (2 manjāḍi) and that paṇa iḍai or Paṇat-tūkkam equals one tenth of the kaḻanju (SII, II, p. 333)

divine intercession for the success of the emperor in his campaign of conquest of the neighbouring regions, grandiloquently called conquering the world.[1]

While the first eight items mentioned in the footnote pre-page were given to the main deity of the temple (obviously a reference to the metallic image that must have been enshrined in the garbhagriha in front of the lingam), the last item, namely, the silver diadem was given as a gift to Kshētrapāla dēvar, a metallic image of gold which was set up by Rājarāja I himself.[2] It is to be noticed that the units of measure of gold, viz., kaḻanju and manjāḍi in vogue in the Chōḻa period had given place to tūkkam and paṇa iḍai in the Vijayanagar period. The terms used to describe the ornaments in the middle of the 15th century are close to the present day terminology applied to them, like padakkam, mūkkutti and paṭṭam.

We can also conclude that the various icons set up by the king, his queens and nobles in the days of Rājarāja I had survived till even as late as the middle of the 15th century if the existence at this period of the small gold image of Kshētrapālar and the main metallic deity (which could be Dakshiṇamēru Viṭankar, Mahāmēru Viṭankar, Tanjai Viṭankar or Āḍavallār himself) is any proof.

Less than a decade later, in Śaka 1337 (A.D. 1455), a number of villages[3] were gifted to the temple as sarvamānya villages, the king having remitted pradhāni jōḍi (the minister's (?) quit rent), Karaṇikka jōdi (the quit rent of the karaṇam or village accountant), talayārikkam (the quit rent of the talayāri, the village watchman), māvāḍai, maravāḍai and kulavaḍai (the dues on animals, trees and tanks and other water points), and whatever other upādhis (impositions, meaning other levies) were in vogue.

IV) UNDER TANJĀVŪR NĀYAKS (A.D. 1550–1664) SUBRAHMAṆYA SHRINE

With the weakening of the central authority of Vijayanagar over their Nāyakdoms in the southern peninsula towards the latter half

1. SII, II, 71.
2. The same deity is referred to in SII, II, 1, para 33 and SII, II, 43, para 2.
3. The villages were Tanjāvūr, Tanjai-māmaṇi-gaṇḍangurai, Nāgallapuram, Paḻamārnēri, Vēlanguḍi, Ammiyappapuram, Tēnalūr, Karuppūr, Maruvūr, Rājēndrasōḻa-Nallūr,

of the 16th century, virtually independent principalities sprang up at the old viceregal centres, of which Tanjāvūr was one, Vellōre, Madurai and Ginjee being some others. It was during this phase of independent Nāyak rule at Tanjāvūr that the Subrahmaṇya shrine in the Rājarājēśvaram complex came to be built.

Intricate stone work, facilitated by the fine-grained granite used in the construction, has resulted in an exquisite example of Nāyak art of the 17th/18th centuries being created in the north-western part of the ambulatory passage round the great temple. Ornate and therefore contrasting with the simple grandeur of the central (the Rājarājēśvaram) shrine, the Ṣubrahmaṇya shrine consists of the garbhagriha, the ardhamaṇḍapa, the mukhamaṇḍapa and the hall in front of it. All these constituent chambers stand on a common upapīṭham-adhishṭhānam base, which has some finely carved mouldings. In fact, the adhishṭhānam is a striking example of its kind, containing all the essential mouldings prescribed in the books, viz., upānam, padmam, kumudam, kaṇḍam, kapōtam and varimānam. On the kapōtam is fixed a well distributed row of low relief kūḍus, while just above it is a yāḷi frieze carved over the varimānam in subdued sunkenness. Certain architectural features deserve our attention. The wall of the garbhagriha is divided into five bays, intercepted by recesses which are adorned with kumbha-panjaras. The ornate śāla-type pediment over the dēvakōshṭas flanked by cameo panels, the corner karṇa bays which have projecting koshṭa-panjaras, the polygonal pilasters and the prastara with its ribbed cornice all speak of the Nāyak style of architecture. The vimāna is dvitaḷa. The grīvā and śikhara are hexagonal with a kalaśa on top. The grīvā-kōshṭas are occupied by images of Kārttikēya. The karṇa-kūṭas, like the main śikhara, are also hexagonal. In fact, the unity of composition is emphasised by the hāra of the first taḷa in the śrīvimāna extending over the full length of the ardhamaṇḍapa, thus bringing about a balance between the length and height of the structure.

During this period, we find that a certain Mallappa Nāyaka

Śungantavirttaśōḷa-nallūr, which bore the alternate name of Tirumalairājapuram (the name having been changed after that of the ruling Vijayanagara king who made this grant viz., Tirumalaidēvamahārāja), and Samudrapuram.

ordered the inhabitants of the village Puliyūr to build the hall called the 'maṇḍapa of Mūrti Amman', which adjoins the Amman shrine. He rewarded their services for having put up this hall by assigning to them the right to enjoy the offerings to the goddess. It is here, for the first time, that Ulagamuḷudum Uḍaiya Nāchchiyār, the consort of Rājarājēśvara, housed in the shrine built during the Pāṇḍyan days, is called by the name of Brihannāyaki, the great Lady, and Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār, the main deity of the central shrine, is called Brihad-Īśvara, the Great Lord.

We may not linger over the only other record of the Tanjāvūr Nāyak period, dated in Śaka (A.D. 1579), where orders were issued during the days of Achyutappa Ayyan (A.D. 1572–1614), exempting goldsmiths from paying certain taxes, before we move on to the days of the Marāṭha hold over Tanjāvūr.

v) UNDER THE BHŌNSLĒ MARĀṬHAS (A.D.1675–1802)

With the rise of the Marāṭhas, in the wake of Śivāji's meteoric emergence in the political firmament of India, Tanjāvūr came under Ēkōji, the first Rājā of the Bhōnslē clan. Ēkōji was Śivāji's step-brother. He was crowned Rājā of Tanjāvūr in Śaka 1597 (A.D. 1675). He held brief sway and died in (A.D. 1681–82).

The European powers had by then set foot on Indian soil. Their wars in Europe were reflected in their mutual conflicts in India. With the arrival of Dupleix and Clive in India in the mid-decades of the 18th century, there occurred the First Anglo-French war which drew Tanjāvūr into its vortex. The first clumsy overt interference with the politics of India came about in A.D. 1749, when the English tried to meddle in a dispute over the succession to the principality of Tanjāvūr. From then onwards, Tanjāvūr was a pawn in the game of chess the British and the French played on the soil of the 'Carnatic'. In A.D. 1758, the Tanjāvūr temple was besieged by the French Commander Lally, though without success. Later, however, in A.D. 1771, the English laid siege to the temple and captured it. After that event, the temple was converted into a defensive installation with arsenals and became a military camp for thirty years. At the turn of the 18th century, Wellesley's 'conscientious conviction' began to

operate that 'no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of the British authority, influence and power'.[1] In A.D. 1786, the Company interfered in the succession to the Tanjāvūr gadi and set up a weakling as the Rājā. Shortly afterwards, the ceremonious 'inquiry and argument' 'lasting three or four days' was enacted by the Company authorities, who, 'as a measure of expediency and justice', ended Tanjāvūr's existence as even a nominal sovereign State (Oct. 25, 1799), and pensioned off the candidate (Sarfōji) who was 'formally passed over'.

Coming as the last of the Rājās of the Bhōnslē family of Tanjāvūr, Sarfōji who ascended the gadi in A.D. 1798 presented in the same year many jewels and silver vessels to the temple, as a mark of thanks-giving for his being reinstated on the throne following the removal of the pretender Amar Singh, who had been foisted by intrigue on the throne after the death of Tulāji in A.D. 1787.Though reduced in status within a year of accession when he was pensioned off, he was allowed to retain charge of the fort of Tanjāvūr. Two important Europeans played significant roles in the life of Sarfōji; the English resident at Tanjāvūr, Huddleston and Rev. Schwartz. A progressive man and a cultivated scholar himself, Sarfōji set up one of the earliest Dēvanāgari printing presses in India and started the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjāvūr, now famous the world over as a library containing an amazing collection of rare books and palm-leaves on a wide range of subjects.

There are a number of inscriptions of this ruler in the Tanjāvūr temple. The one dated in Śaka 1720 (A.D 1798) found on the west and south walls of the Gaṇapati shrine records the bejewelled ornaments and silver referred to earlier[2]. From other records found in the same shrine, we gather that the king renewed the garbhagriha of the Gaṇēśa temple, 'from the adhishṭhānam to the finial', and constructed the ardhamaṇḍapa and the mahāmaṇḍapa[3]. We are also informed that Sarfōji replaced the old Gaṇēśa image by a new one. This old image of the days of Rājarāja I is, however, still

1. Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, Thompson and Garratt, p. 288.
2. ARE no. 422 of 1924.
3. ARE no. 420 of 1924–dated in Śaka 1723 (AD 1801).

preserved in the temple. In Śaka 1724 (A.D. 1802), Sarfōji rebuilt the tank in the north prākāra, called Maṇḍūka tīrtha, in the form of a well.[1] He also effected extensive repairs to twenty-six sections of the north verandah of the prākāra, confirmed by two inscriptions[2] on two pillars in the repaired verandah. This is further confirmed by a record[3] found on the north wall of the maṇḍapa in front of the Gaṇapati shrine. A record on the south wall of the verandah gives, in detail and in chronological order, the history of the Marāṭha kings of the Bhōnslē family[4] from the very beginning of the dynasty.

Another important accretion in the post-Rājarājan era was the Naṭarāja maṇḍapa, a mere random addition made by Sarfōji, in about Śaka 1724 (A.D. 1802), to the total conposition, with no specific justification. It takes its place to the east of the Amman shrine, almost close to the north-eastern corner of the prākāra. This maṇḍapa today houses a pair of beautiful bronzes of Naṭarāja and his consort. Out of the myriad gifts of icons that Rājarāja and his clan had bequeathed to posterity, these are about all (and perhaps one or two more) that have survived the ravages of time.

Finally, a record[5] of Śaka 1723 (A.D. 1801) found on the steps of the Vāhana Maṇḍapa, states that the steps opposite to the Subrahmaṇya temple were 'newly constructed' by this Tanjāvūr Chief. Besides, he effected repairs to the shrines of Amman, Sabhāpati, Dakshiṇāmūrti and Chaṇḍēśvarar; he also built some new maṇḍapas, repaired the flooring of the prākāra, the madil and the temple kitchen. These various repairs were evidently necessitated by the damage caused to the temple buildings in the thirty years of military occupation. In fact, the extensive repairs to the twenty-six sections of the northern madil which, unlike the other sectors of the tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai, is single storeyed, would appear to indicate serious breaches in the northern wall. After effecting all these repairs in A.D. 1801–02, Sarfōji performed purificatory cere-

1. ARE no. 419 of 1924 (found on a stone step of the well near the Sabhāpati maṇḍapa).
2. ARE no. 416 and 417 of 1924.
3. ARE no. 423 of 1924 — dated in Śaka 1723 (AD 1801).
4. T. Sambamurty Rao's editing of these inscriptions in 1907 devotes 119 royal octavo pages to this record.
5. ARE no. 111 of 1927–28.

monies and threw open the temple again for public worship.

Perhaps with some exceptions, the greater among the Chōḻa emperors 'created' for themselves a personal deity or a guardian angel who, as it were, guided and steered them through the trials and tribulations of ruling a far-flung empire, and on whom the emperors in grateful acknowledgement showered[1] all the booty gathered in their wars of conquest.

The first in this illustrious line was Rājarāja I who built an abode for his patron God, Rājarājēśvarar. His son, a greater warrior than his famous father, built a fitting monument aptly described as that of 'the Īśvara of the Chōḻa who took the Gangā' (Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḻa-īśvaram). His son Rājādhirāja I, despite being preoccupied with the wars with the Western Chāḷukyas, which ultimately claimed his life, had also a temple called Rājādhirājēśvaram built after his name at Mannārguḍi. Though he had no major temple exclusively to his credit, Kulōttunga I was held in such thrall by Naṭarāja of Chidambaram that it was given to him, his son and grandson to convert, over successive decades, a comparatively small temple into a magnificent one, not far different from what it is today. Indeed his son, Vikrama Chōḻa, in the 10th year of his reign, dedicated the entire revenue of the year to the remodelling, expansion and beautification of the temple that enshrined his very 'kulanāyakam', 'the (Divine) Lord of the Chōḻa family'. The real temple of his reign, however, was Vikramaśōḻīśvaram, built at Vikrama Chōḻa Nallūr, which today bears the later name of Tukkāchchi. A huge though now much neglected structure, it was a pace-setter for the Chōḻa temples of the 12th and 13th centuries. Rājarāja II restored the tradition of having a grand unitary design when he built under his direction the temple of Rājarājēśvaram (named in the same way as Rājarāja I did his own temple) at Dārāsuram in the fertile plains watered by the multitudinous arteries of the Kāvēri. Tribhuvana Vīra Dēva, meaning the hero of the Three Worlds (as Kulōttunga III, the last great king among the Chōḻas, was called after he had conquered Madurai, Śrī Lankā (Īḻam) and Karuvūr), raised the

1. Rājarāja uses the expression 'flowers at the feet of the Lord' (pāda pushpa), in his inscriptions.

temple of Tribhuvanēśvaram, on the outskirts of the ancient capital of Paḻayarai (now about six kilometres from Kumbakōṇam). An edifice of magnificent proportions and intricate stone work, though much marred by the uninformed hand of the modern renovator, it remains as the last great, single-unit, all-stone complex in the deep southern peninsular region. These temples[1], built by the kings exclusively for their kulanāyakas, reflected their personality and have come down to us as fitting memorials. When we apply to these temples appropriate yardsticks with emphasis on plan, balance, volume distribution, sculptural merit and general surface treatment, Rājarājēśvaram of Tanjāvūr stands head and shoulders above the others. It has yet another unique aspect of being perhaps the only monument that has on the body of the temple itself a completely documented story of its construction, giving details of the grants and gifts made to it, the arrangements for worship and service to various deities enshrined in it and general maintenance of the temple, apart from the fullest descriptions ever of the numerous metal images gifted to the temple by members of the royalty, the nobility and others, the Emperor Rājarāja I himself heading the list. No other temple in any part of India has a wealth of such extensive epigraphic material that gives us today a peep into the fabric of the society of a thousand years ago, its institutions and regulations, its curbs and rights, apart from shedding a flood of light on the political set-up in that era, the administrative units in the kingdom, the priesthood and the laymen, and other interesting details. But what we value most are the fascinating details of the metallic icons of splendid proportions cast in a span of a decade or even less. Unfortunatley, only a very few of them have buffeted through the millennium long political convulsions, vandalism, and calamities that the region has suffered, and come down to us unstolen, unmelted or unscathed.

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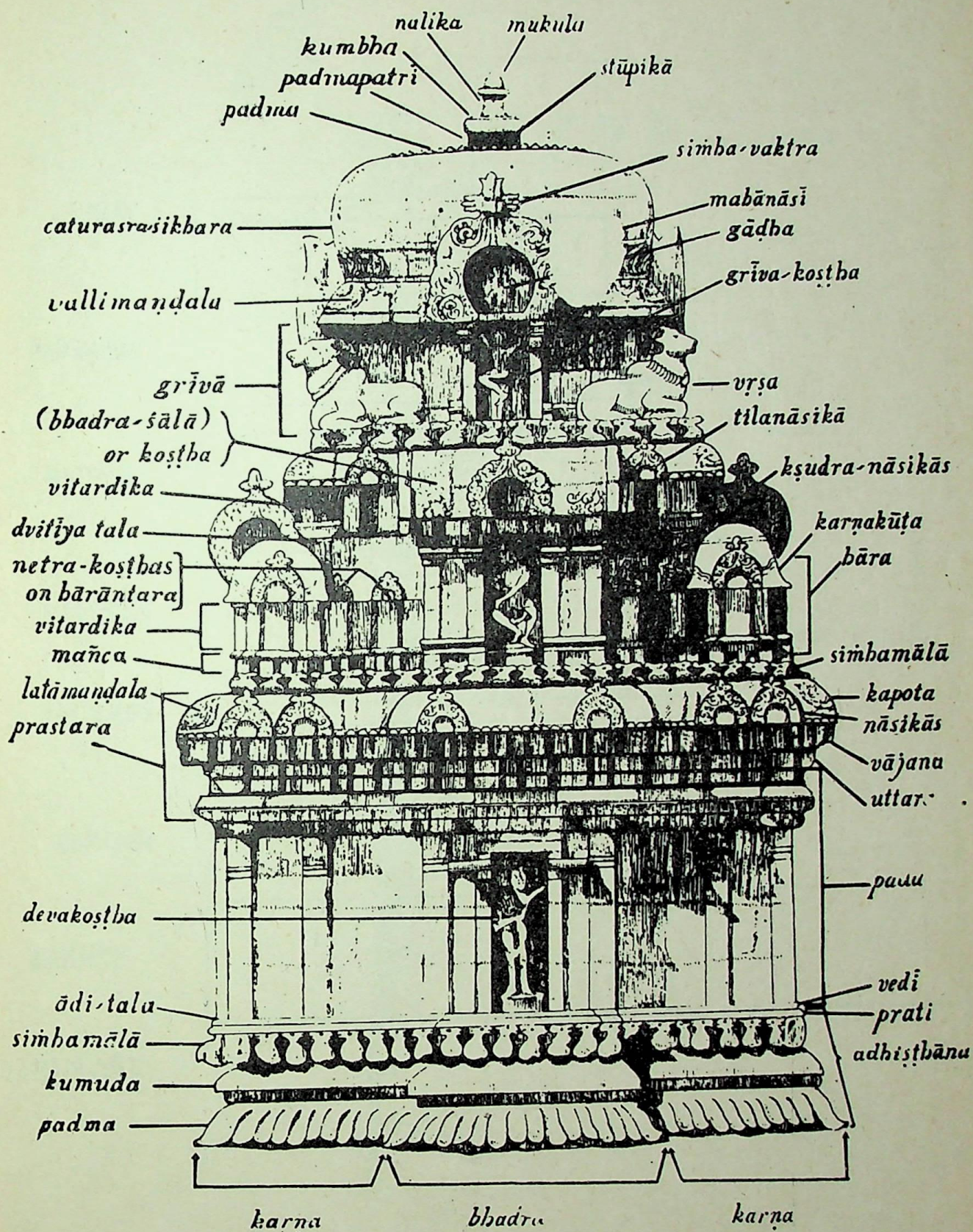
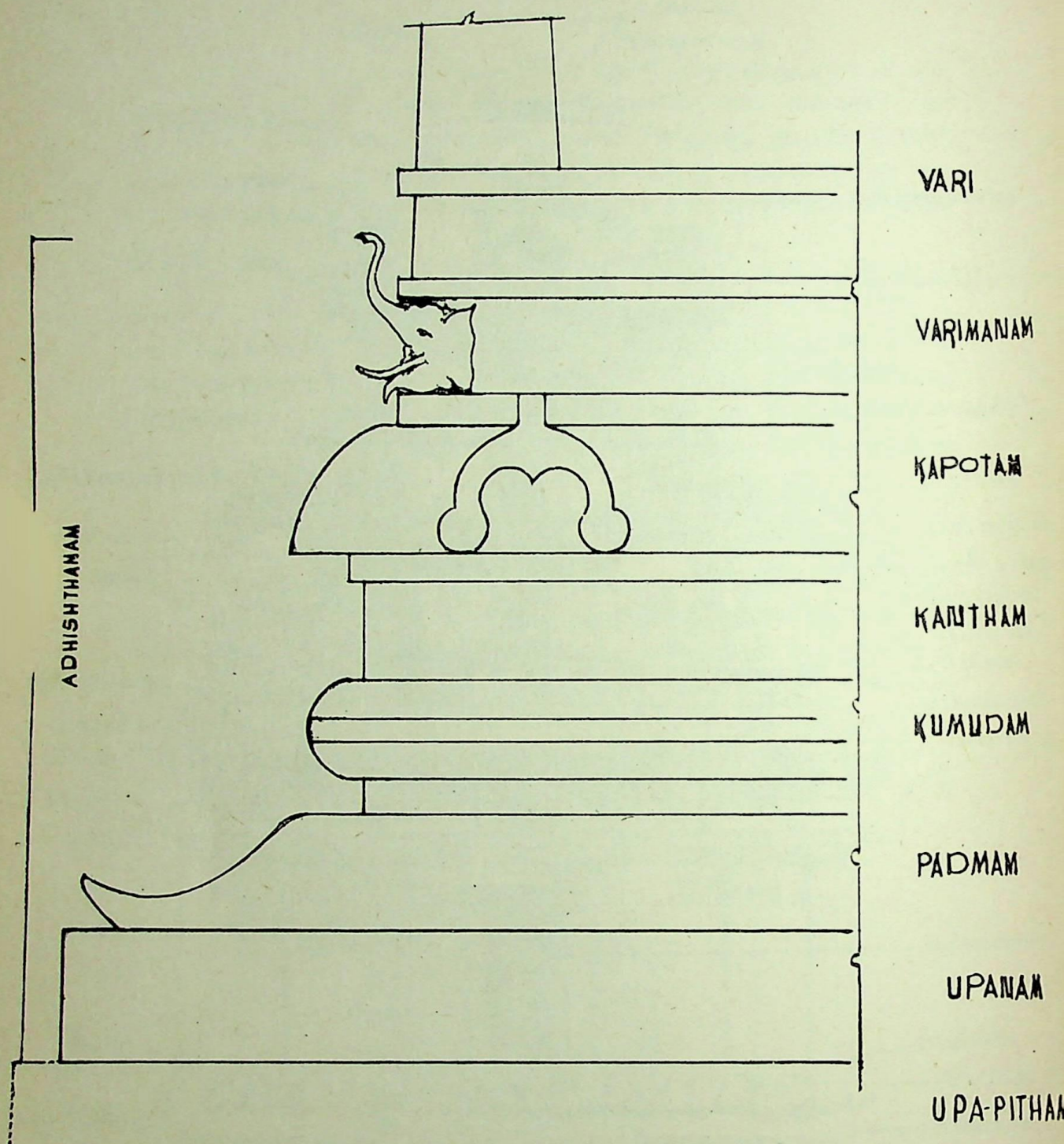
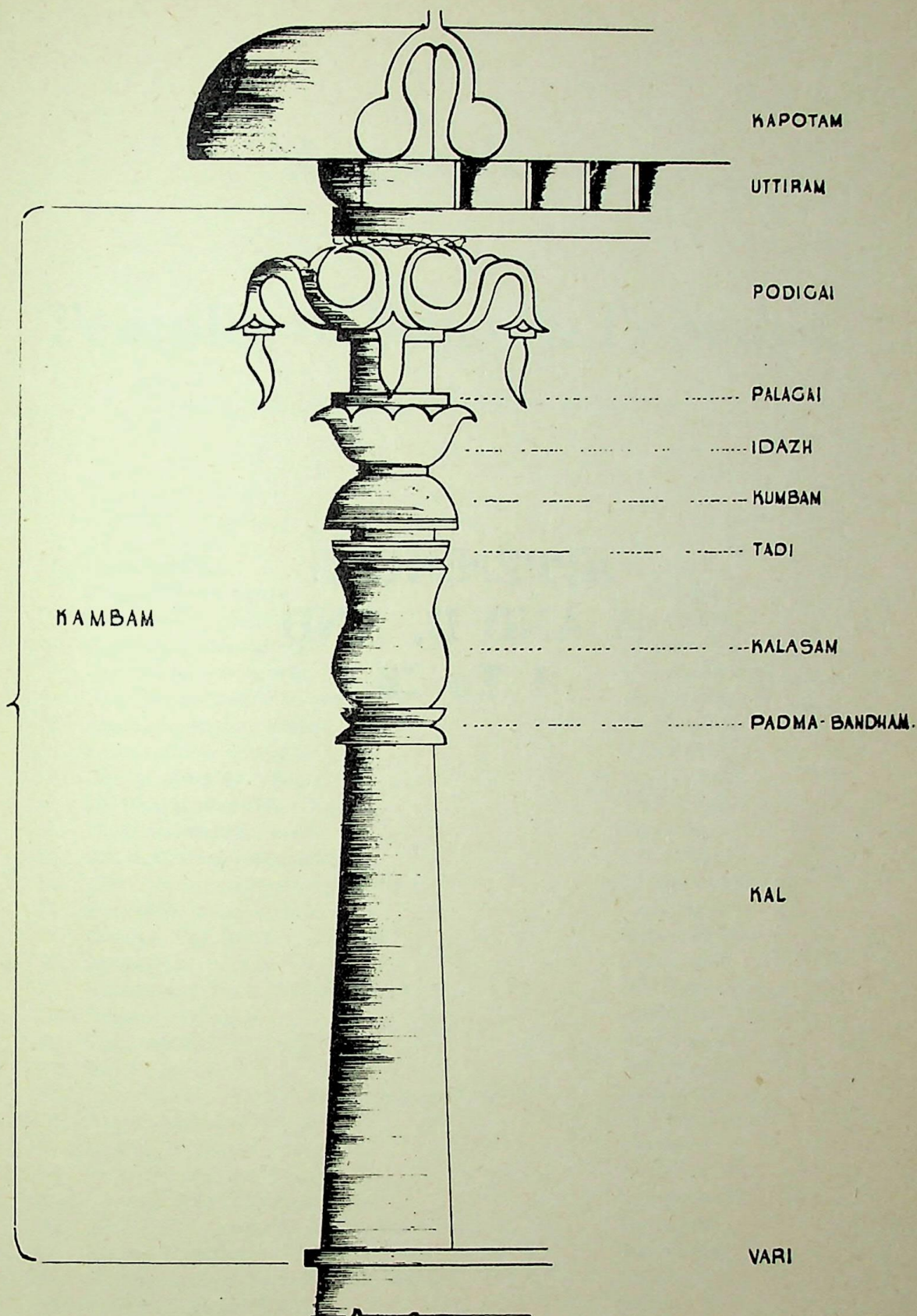
1. Many other temples came up in the same period, often bearing the name of the king, but their designs were different; the śrīvimāna receded in importance and height, and peripheral accretions lent scope to succeeding kings and dynasties to add more space and buildings in the surrounding area to bring about, in course of time, the huge temple arenas that we have today at Chidambaram, Madurai, Kānchipuram, Srīrangam and other like places.

This temple of temples is unique in more senses than one. It is a living national art gallery incorporating the best elements of architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dancing, jewellery and allied fine arts—all in one, with self-revealing contemporary inscriptions engraved on its walls, a documentation of the highest historical value.

Before we close, let us look at Rājarājēśvaram as it is today. It is more or less in the state in which Sarfōji had left it in A.D. 1802. A hundred and fifty years of neglect and want of patronage have left insidious crevices in the vimānam, and the seeping rain water has permanently damaged a sizeable expanse of the murals in the vestibular passage between the bāhya and antara bhittis of the garbhagriha.

Presently, the Department of Archaeology of the Government of India who are responsible for its protection are undertaking extensive maintenance repairs to salvage whatever has been left undamaged of the murals, besides protecting the edifice from further disrepair. For their part, the Tamiḻnaḍu Government in a touching commemorative gesture, have put up a statue for Rājarāja outside the temple. As the visitor enters the arena of the temple, greeting him first is a standing figure of Arumoḻidēva, whose memory will live as long as the śrīvimāna of the splendid temple can be seen rising to the skies.

L35. Component parts of a vimāna (specimen: Koḍumbāḷūr Mūvar Kōyil)

L_{36}. Another varient of the adhishthāna mouldings (of L_1 and L_2)

L₃₇. The components of a standard pillar or pilaster (details and emphasis vary with age and region)

APPENDICES
A AND B, AND
1 To 28

Appendix A

Temples of Rājarāja I's period

(new construction, renovation in stone etc.)

1.	Rājarājēśvaram	Tanjāvūr
2.	Lōkamahādēvīśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
3.	Kshētrapālar temple	Tiruvalanjuḻi
4.	Svarṇapurīśvarar temple	Aḻagādriputtūr
5.	Uttarāpatīśvarar temple	Tiruchengāṭṭanguḍi
6.	Tiru-Īrāmanāthēśvaram temple	Tiruvirāmēśvaram
7.	Amritaghaṭēśvarar temple	Tirukkaḍaiyūr
8.	Kārōṇasvāmin temple	Nāgapaṭṭinam
9.	Chūḷāmaṇivarma Vihāram	Nāgapaṭṭinam
10.	Kaṇṇāyiranāthasvāmin temple	Tirukkāravāśal
11.	Pārijātavanēśvarar temple	Tirukkalar
12.	Tirumalaik-kaḍambūr temple	Nārttāmalai
13.	Tiru-Neḍungaḷanāthasvāmin temple	Tiruneḍungaḷam
14.	Sāmavēdīśvarar temple	Tirumangalam
15.	Kunḍan Kuḻi Mahādēvar temple	Madagaḍippattu
16.	Bhūmīśvarar temple	Marakkāṇam
17.	Kayilāyattup Paramasvāmin temple	Olagapuram
18.	Arinjigai Viṇṇagar	Olagapuram
19.	Sundaraśōḻap-Perumpaḷḷi	Olagapuram
20.	Mahā Śāstā temple	Agaram
21.	Tiru-Ālandurai-Uḍaiya Parama-Svāmin temple	Ēmappērūr
22.	Brahmapurīśvarar temple	Brahmadēśam
23.	Rājarāja Viṇṇagar	Eṇṇāyiram
24.	Tiru-Īrāmēśvaram temple	Ēśālam
25.	Ravikula Māṇikkēśvaram	Dādāpuram
26.	Kundavai Viṇṇagar Āḻvār temple	Dādāpuram
27.	Kundavai Jīnālaya	Dādāpuram
28.	Śivalōkamuḍaiya Paramasvāmin shrine	Tiruvakkarai
29.	Venkatēśa Perumāḷ temple	Tirumukkūḍal
30.	Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiya Mahādēvar temple	Śivapuram
31.	Tiru vīra viṇṇagar āḻvār temple	Ārpākkam
32.	Murugēśvara svāmin temple	Māmbākkam

33.	Rājarājīśvaram	Śōḻapuram
34.	Jayangoṇḍaśōḻīśvaram	Śengunram
35.	Kundavai Jīnālaya	Tirumalai
36.	Rājēndrasimhēśvaram	Melpāḍi
37.	Chōḻēśvaram	Mēlpāḍi
38.	Paḻḻikoṇḍār shrine, Somēśvarar temple	Āttūr
39.	Paḻḻikoṇḍār shrine, Nelliyappar temple	Tirunelvēli
40.	Kailāsapati temple	Gangaikoṇḍān
41.	Nigariliśōla viṇṇagaram	Śēramādēvi
42.	Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple	Śēramādēvi
43.	Tiru-Irāmēśvaram temple	Tiruvālīśvaram
44.	Chōḻīśvara temple	Nāgerkōil
45.	Rājarājēśvaram	Māttōṭṭam
46.	Vānavan Mādēvīśvaram and Paḻḻikoṇḍār shrine	Polannaruwa
47.	Uttamaśōḻīśvaram	Polannaruwa
48.	Arumoḻidēviśvaram	Maḻūrpaṭnā
49.	Jayangoṇḍaśōḻa Viṇṇagar	Maḻūrpaṭnā
50.	Rājēndrasimhēśvaram	Maḻūr
51.	Appramēyasvāmin temple	Maḻūr
52.	Ravikula Māṇikka viṇṇagar	Ṭāḍi Mālingi

Appendix B

An illustrative list of details of icons presented to the temple (by the Generals and Nobles of the Court of Rājarāja I) is given below.

(i) One of the important officers and generals of Rājarāja I was Nārakkan Śrī Krishṇan Rāman alias the Sēnāpati (General) Mummaḍi-chōḷa-brahmamārāyan, a Perundanam of the Lord Śrī Rājarāja Dēva and a citizen of Kēraḷāntaka chaturvēdi-mangalam in Veṇṇāḍu, a subdivision of Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu. It was he who constructed the walls of enclosure round the Rājarājēśvaram temple, as is evidenced by the three inscriptions on the southern and eastern walls of enclosure. No.39 of SII, Vol.II, pt. II gives the details of the metal image of Ardhanārīśvarar set up by him in this temple before the 29th year of Rājarāja I. It mentions as follows:

'One solid image of Ardhanārīśvarar, one lotus on which this image stood set with jewels, one pedestal on which this image stood, one solid aureola covering the image; the deity was half male half female and the Īśvara half had two divine arms and the Umā (Īśvari) half had one divine arm, and its copper was covered with brass; to this image were given many ornaments and vessels; viz., a tirumuḍi (one sacred crown), a tiru mālai (one sacred garland), a vīra paṭṭa · one breast plate (i.e. channavira), a Śrī bāhu vaḷaya (one sacred armlet), a udara bandha, a tiruporppū (a sacred flower of gold), tirukkai-kārai (one sacred arm ring), a tiru aḍikkārai (one sacred foot ring), a tiruppaṭṭigai (one sacred girdle) etc.

(ii) Perhaps the most significant of all the donations regarding metals made by any of Rājarāja I's Ministers and Officers were those made by Ādittan Sūryan, alias Tennavan Mūvēnda Vēḷān, the headman of Poygai nāḍu, who carried on the management of the temple of the Lord Śrī Rājarājēśvarar (vide No. 38 of SII, Vol. II, pt. II). He set up before the 29th year of Rājarāja I images (pratimā–portrait sculptures of human beings) representing Nambi Ārūranār, Nangai Paravaiyār and Tirunāvukkaraiyar, Tirujnānasambandaraḍigaḷ, Periya perumāḷ (Rājarāja I) and his consort Lōkamahādēvi, and the God Chandraśēkharar. Apart from the significance of this record in throwing light on a number of images set up by this important chief and the donations of ornaments and jewels that he made, from the point of view of Tamiḻ literature and its history, this inscription confirms the fact that the reputed authors of the Dēvāram or Mūvar pāḍal, a collection of hymns in honour of Śiva, definitely existed prior to the date of this record; and thus it forms a terminus ad quem for the time of these saints. For the inscription mentions the three authors of the Dēvāram, namely, Tirujnānasambandar, Tirunāvukkaraiyar (alias Appar) and Nambi Ārūranār (Sundaramūrti), as also the latter's wife Nangai Paravaiyār.

The gifts made by him (Ādittan Sūryan) may be enumerated as below:

(a) One solid image (pratimam) of Nambi Ārūranār (Sundarar) having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood joined to the lotus, one pedestal on which this image stood joined to this lotus;

(b) One solid image (pratimam) of Nangai Paravaiyār, having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(c) One solid image (pratimam) of Tirunāvukkaraiyar having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(d) One solid image of Tirujñānasambandaradigaḷ, having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(e) One solid image (pratimam) of Periya Perumāḷ having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(f) One solid image (pratimam) of his consort Olōgamahādēviyār (nam piräṭṭiyār olōga-mahādēviyār pratimam) having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood;

(g) One solid brass image of Chandraśēkharadēva set up as Dēvāradēvar of Periya Perumāḷ (periya perumāḷukku dēvāradēvarāha eḻundaruḷivitta tirumēni) having four divine arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(h) One solid image of Milāḍuḍaiyār, who said: "oh Taṭṭā! (he is) one of us; see," having two arms; one pedestal on which this image stood, joined to a lotus. (For this deity he also gave one rudrāksha bead weighing half a kaḻanju, four manjāḍis and one kunri and valued at one kāśu) (No. 40, SII, II).

From the 6th chapter of the Periyapurāṇam, we get to know that Milāḍuḍaiyār was a tiruttoṇḍar, a Śaivite Saint; he was the chief of Milāḍu region and hence bore the appellation of Milāḍuḍaiyār; he was also known as Meypporu nayanar, the Chēḍi (?) king residing at Tirukkōvalūr; he was stabbed by his enemy Muttanadan who had managed to obtain a private interview in the disguise of a Śaiva devotee. The doorkeeper who intended to kill the murderer was prevented from doing so by the dying king, who exclaimed: "Oh Taṭṭa, he is a devotee of Śiva; therefore do not harm him." In the opening verse, the king is referred to as Malāḍa-mannar, while in the prose rendering, he is called Malaiya mānāṭṭārukku araśar, "the king of the inhabitants of the great country of hills". SII, II, No. 40 is a short inscription dated in the 3rd year of Rajendra I which records the setting up of a copper image of this saint by the Manager of the Rājarājēśvaram temple. The image is called "taṭṭā, namarē kāṇ enra milāḍuḍaiyār" (lines 28, 29).

Inscription SII, II, No. 43 deals with some more gifts of icons of both divinity (tirumēni) and human beings (pratimam) made by the same chief, Āditta Sūryan. The following divine and human images in copper were set up by him by the third year of the king Rājēndra I.

(1) One solid image of Kshētrapāladēva having eight divine arms,
(2) One solid image of Śiva in his fierce form of Bhairava, represented as dancing, having two divine arms and one pedestal on which this image stood joined to a lotus,
(3) One solid image of Siruttoṇḍa Nambi having two arms,
(4) One solid image of Tiruveṇkāṭṭu Nangai, and
(5) One solid image of Śirāḷadēvar, having two arms, and one pedestal on which the three images stood, joined to a lotus (i.e. 3, 4, & 5).

(iii) Another royal officer named Vēḷān Ādittan alias Parāntaka Pallavaraiyan, a headman (kiḻān) of .. .. and a Perundanam of the Lord Śrī Rājarāja dēvar set up a copper image of Śiva and Umā before the 29th year of the king (vide SII, Vol. II, pt. II, No. 32). The gift consisted of: one solid image of Śiva, the consort of Uma, having four divine arms, comfortably seated (in sukhāsana posture), one solid image of his consort Umāparamēśvari seated, one solid image of the god Subrahmaṇya having two divine arms, standing, and one solid image of Gaṇapati having four divine arms. This inscription is incomplete and we have no indication of the jewels and ornaments gifted to these deities by the donor who set up the images.

(iv) Another important officer of the royal court of Rājarāja I was the Minister Udaya Divākaran Tillaiyāḷiyār alias Rājarāja Mūvēndvēḷār, a native of Kānchivāyil. He set up the image of Krāṭārjunīyadēvar(Kirāṭārjunīya dēvar) in the Rājarājēśvaram temple and deposited

thirteen kāśus of money for the sacred food and other requirements of the deity (No. 9 of SII, Vol. II, pt. I). Kirāṭārjuna mūrti is one of the 25 līlāmūrtis,and according to the Kāraṇāgama, Kirāṭa i.e., Śiva is described as having four arms, three eyes (tri-nētra), wearing a jaṭāmakuṭa, and is to be fully adorned (sarvābharaṇa bhūshitam). He stands in the samabhanga posture and on his left stands Gauri and on his right is a standing Arjuna; he carries in his arms dhanus, bāṇa, Krishṇa (deer) and paraśu; he wears the yajnōpavīta. Arjuna is described as single-faced with two eyes wearing the jaṭāmakuṭa and fully decked (sarvābharaṇa bhūshitam); he is said to be standing (sthitam).

(v) Yet another prominent royal officer is Kōvan (i.e. Gōpan) Aṇṇāmalai alias Kēraḷāntaka Vilupparaiyan, a Perundaram of the minor treasure (śirudanam) who makes a gift of the following: one solid image of Bhringīśar, with three divine feet and three divine arms and having a bush (śeḍi), one pedestal on which this image stood set with jewels. To this image were given the following ornaments: one ornament of three strings (tri śaram), one necklace (kanṭha nāṇ), sacred arm rings (tirukkaikkārai) and sacred leg rings (tiruvaḍikkārai) (No. 47 of SII, Vol. II pt. II).

The same officer, referred to in No. 47 mentioned above, set up a copper image of the Sun god (Sūrya dēvar) before the 29th year of Rājarāja I, and presented some ornaments to this image. The gift consists of: one solid image of Sūrya dēva having two divine arms, one lotus on which this image stood set with jewels, one pedestal (bhadra uḍaiya pīṭham) and one solid aureole (prabhā). The gifts made to this deity include: one garland of rays (pāśa mālai), one koṭpū, one kaḷāvam (girdle), one Śrī chhanda (a pearl ornament), one pair of sacred ear rings (tiruk-kambi), and one pair each of arm rings and leg rings (i.e. tiruk-kaikkārai and tiru-vadikkārai).

(vi) We have another officer of Rājarāja I's court who makes a similar donation of an image, viz., Īrāyiravan Pallavayan alias Mummaḍi śōla Pōśan, who set up an image in copper of Chaṇḍēśvara dēvar before the 29th year of Rājarāja I and presented certain ornaments. Pallavaraiyan was a Perundanam of the Lord Rājarājadēvar and the gifts made were: one solid image of Chaṇḍēśvara dēvar, having two divine arms, one lotus on which this image stood set with jewels, one pedestal (bhadra uḍaiya pīṭham), one solid aureola, and one solid axe (malu) held by this image. The ornaments gifted to this deity were as follows: a girdle of three strings, a vaḍam (an ornament consisting of a single string) and an ēkavalli (a string strung with forty-six pearls). This Chanḍeśvara dēvar image is different from the Chaṇḍēśvarānugraha-mūrti presented by Rājarāja I himself, which has been referred to earlier under the gifts of images made by the king himself and which finds mention in SII, Vol. II, No. 239.

(vii) One Vaḍugan, a native of Nallūr alias Panchavan Mahādēvi chaturvēdimangalam made a gift of a copper image of Durgā Paramēśvari, which was set up in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram before the 29th year of Rājarāja I and donated to it a number of ornaments and jewels. This image (tiru-mēni) of Durgā Paramēśvari was of solid metal and had four hands; it stood on a padma and bhadra pīṭham with a prabhā to cover the same; the aureola was also made of solid metal.

The gifts of ornaments made to this image are numerous indeed. They are as below:

1. One vaḍuga vāḷi (ear-ring in the Āndhra style) with gold and pearls.
2. One vaḍuga vāḷi (ear-ring in the Āndhra style) with gold and 6 pearls.
3. One pearl ornament (muttu māttirai).
4. One pearl ornament (—do—).
5. One pearl ornament (—do—).
6. One pearl ornament (—do—).

7. One panchaśari weighing 6 kaḻanjus and having 187 pearls valued at 4 kāśus.
8. One girdle (kaḷāvam) with 81 pearls in three strings weighing 2¾ kaḻanjus, 7 manjāḍis and 1 kurni valued at 2½ kāśus.
9. One ēkavalli with 28 pearls weighing 1 kaḻanju, 4 manjāḍis and 1 kunri valued at 1½ kāśus.
10. One tāli (marriage badge) with 5 diamonds, rubies etc., weighing 1 kaḻanju, 3 manjāḍis and valued at 3 kāśus.
11. One pearl bracelet (muttin śūḍagam) with 250 pearls including gold weighing 4¾ kaḻanjus, 4 manjāḍis and valued at 4 kāśus.
12. One pearl bracelet with 284 pearls, weighing 4 kaḻanjus, 6 manjāḍis and valued at 4 kāśus.
13. One pearl bracelet with 292 pearls weighing 5¼ kaḻanjus and valued at 4½ kāśus.
14. One pearl bracelet with 205 pearls weighing 5½ kaḻanjus and valued at 4½ kāśus.
15. One leg string (tirukkālvaḍam) with 27 pearls weighing 1/2 kaḻanju, 3 manjāḍis, 2 kunris and valued at 7/20 and 1/40 kāśu.
16. One leg string with 30 pearls weighing 1/2 kaḻanju, 2 manjāḍis, 1 kunri and valued at 7/10 and 1/40 kāśu.
17. One pair of ear rings (tirukkambi) in gold weighing 2¾ kaḻanjus and 4 manjāḍis.
18. One string of beads (marriage badge = tāli maṇi vaḍam) in gold weighing 1 kaḻanju and 3 manjāḍis.
19. One girdle (tiru paṭṭigai) in gold weighing 2 kaḻanjus.
20. One pair of foot rings in gold weighing 5 kaḻanjus and 6 manjāḍis.
21. One handle for a fly-whisk in gold weighing 19 kaḻanjus and 9 manjāḍis.
22. One handle for a fly-whisk in gold weighing 19½ kaḻanjus and 4 manjāḍis.

(viii) Finally, Perundanam Kandayan alias Rājarāja Kāttiyaraiyan, son of Kāttiyarāyan made before the 29th year of Rājarāja I to the Rājarājēśvaram temple a gift of a solid image of Kāla Piḍāri (kālapiḍāri tirumēni) having four arms along with one pedestal (pīṭham) and one solid aureola (prabhai).

(ix) Guru Īśāna Śiva Paṇḍita is often mentioned in the records of this temple and was one of the important Śaiva āchāryas charged with the administration of the temple; apart from the money deposits made by him for various services in the temple, he also set up an image (pratimā) of himself in the temple (vide para 82 of 96 of SII, II). "To the shepherd Nallāran Villaṇai of Mangalam were assigned 32 kāśus out of the money deposited by the priest (gurukkaḷ) Īśāna Śiva Paṇḍita for a lamp to the image of the Gurukkaḷ set up in the temple." It may be mentioned that reading inscription nos. 96, 20 and 90 (of SII, II) together, Śivāchārya Īśāna Śiva Paṇḍita continued to be the Chief Priest of the temple till the 2nd or even the 3rd year of Rājēndra I[1] when he was succeeded (possibly in the 3rd year of Rājēndra I) by Śivāchārya Pavana Piḍāran who from SII, II, No. 90, we learn, 'presented the 9th pot (kalaśa) in the 3rd year of Rājēndra Chōḻa for one of the sub-shrines of the temple. He in turn was succeeded by Śaivāchārya Śarva Śiva Paṇḍita, as attested by a 19th year record[2] of Rājēndra I according to which "Rājēndra ordered, inter alia, while camping in the

1. It may be remembered that Rājarāja I continued to live even after Rājēndra I was crowned the Emperor for at least two years. Crowning the successor in the life time of the ruler was a new tradition of the Cholas set up by Rajaraja himself and his immediate predecessors. SII, II, No. 20.

college (kallūri) which surrounds the king's flower garden (āram) on the north side of the royal hall (tiru māḷigai) of Muḍikoṇḍa śōḻan within the palace (kōyil) at Gangaikoṇḍaśoḻapuram, that two thousand kalams of paddy fully measured by the marakkāl preserved in the temple of this God and called Āḍavallān, should be supplied every year, as long as the sun and the moon last, to the treasury in the city, to be enjoyed by the priests (āchārya) of the temple of the Lord Śrī Rājarājēśvara viz., by our Lord the Śaivāchārya Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita and by those who shall deserve among the pupils (śishya) of this Lord and the pupils of his pupils (praśishya)." The above order heard from the mouth of the king was written (engraved) on stone. "Let the Śivāchāryas of this spiritual line protect this charity (dharma)." The deification of this guru is indicative of the high esteem in which the rulers held the spiritual leaders of this line.

APPENDIX 1
GIFTS OF ORNAMENTS AND VESSELS BY RĀJARĀJA I TO THE RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM TEMPLE

		Weight*	
	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1. One dish of gold (tala) on Padmāsana	995½	4	—
2. One sacred diadem (tiruppaṭṭam) of gold	499	—	—
3. One sacred diadem of gold	494½	2	—
4. One sacred diadem of gold	484½	—	—
5. One sacred diadem of gold	497½	—	—
6. One sacred diadem of gold	491½	—	—
7. One gold plate (taḷigai) given from the minor treasure (śirudanam)	652	8	—
8. One gold plate (Ponnin taḷigai)	493¼	—	—
9. One gold bowl (ponnin maṇḍai)	397	6	—
10. — do —	393	1	—
11. — do —	398	—	—
12. — do —	396	—	—
13. One gold pitcher (ponnin geṇḍi)	284½	—	—
14. One gold salver (taṭṭam) given from his minor treasure (śirudanam)	40¼	—	—
15. One gold kettle (kiḍaram)	11,742	—	—
16. One gold oṭṭu vaṭṭil (perhaps a cup resembling a shell)	488	—	—
17. One gold pot (kalaśam)	507	—	—
18. — do —	483	—	—
19. — do —	492	—	—
20. — do —	492½	—	—
21. — do —	512½	—	—
22. — do —	512½		
23. One gold spittoon (paḍikkam) including the three legs and the two rings.	802½	—	—
24. One gold salver (taṭṭam)	49¾	—	—
25. — do —	49¾	—	—
26. — do —	50	—	—
27. — do —	49¾	2	1
28. One receptacle for sacred ashes (kuḻu-maḍal)	97	—	—
29. One gold measuring cup (maṇa-vaṭṭil)	20	—	—
	22,765	18	1

* 1 kaḻanju = 20 manjāḍi
1 manjāḍi = 2 kunri
1 kunri = 5 mā
1 mā = 4 kāṇi
1 kaḻanju = 4.50 gms. (approx.)

APPENDIX 2
A SECOND SET OF GIFTS OF ORNAMENTS AND VESSELS

		Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1.	One gold betel pot	586	—	—
2.	— do —	622½	—	—
3.	One gold water pot	382½	—	—
4.	— do —	367	—	—
5.	— do —	352	—	—
6.	— do —	294	—	—
7.	One gold Karaṇḍigaichchoppu (chunnam box) including 4 yāḷi legs	121½	—	—
8.	One ilaichchoppu (betel-leaf box)	185¾	—	—
9.	— do —	147	—	—
10.	One (gold plate)	1135½	—	—
11.	One gold kalaśappani (censer) including the spout (mookku) and the stand	470	—	—
12.	One gold kalaśappani (censer) including the spout (mookku) and the stand	438	—	—
13.	Eight gold chains including 16 flowers, 2 of which were attached to the hanging part (tūkkam) and to the top part (taḷi) of each chain respectively	78¾	—	—
14.	One taraiṭṭal vaṭṭil, including two karukku (bas reliefs) and two simhapāda (lion's feet)	448	—	—
15.	One tiru-muḍi (sacred crown)	273	—	—
16.	One kai (handle) for a fly-whisk (ichchōppi)	204	—	—
		6,105	10	0

APPENDIX 3
A THIRD SET OF GIFTS OF ORNAMENTS AND VESSELS

	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
(i) From the Chēra Treasure			
1. One handle for a fly-whisk (ichchōppikkai)	34	—	—
2. — do —	33	—	—
Total:	67	—	—
(ii) After obtaining the names of Śivapāda-Śēkhara and Śrī Rājarāja-dēva			
3. One gold trumpet (kāḷam) with a kangil, two pipes (kuḻal) and five rings (mōdiram)	295½	—	—
4. — do —	295½	—	—
5. — do —	296¾	2	—
6. Two trumpets and five rings	593	—	—
7. One trumpet and five rings	294	9	1
8. — do — — do —	290¾	—	—
9. — do — — do —	286	3	1
10. — do — — do —	298½	2	—
11. — do — — do —	287¾	4	1
	2,938	16	1
(iii) From his own treasures, he gave the following further gifts:			
12. One trumpet	168¼	—	—
13. — do —	168	—	—
14. A single trumpet including one Kangil and one pipe (Kuḻal)	149½	3	—
15. Three tops for temple parasols (makuṭa for tirupaḷḷittongal including moṭṭu (knob) and paḍalai (plate) soldered together)	148¾	—	—
16. Five tops each weighing K. 49-12-1	248	2	1
17. Two tops for temple parasols (makuṭa for tirupaḷḷittongal including moṭṭu (knob) and paḍalai (plate) soldered together)	100	—	—
18. Two tops " "	98	—	—
19. One top " "	51	—	—
20. Two tops " "	98¾	—	—
21. One top " "	50	2	1
22. One top " "	48¾	—	—
23. One top for a temple parasol	50¾	3	1
24. Two tops for a temple parasol	101½	—	—
25. One top for a temple parasol	49½	—	—
26. One top for a temple parasol	49	6	—
27. One top for a temple parasol	49¼	—	—

	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
28. One top for a temple parasol	48½	—	—
29. One top for a temple parasol	49	2	1
30. One top for a temple parasol	48¾	2	1
31. One top for a temple parasol	50	1	—
32. Three tops for a temple parasol	149½	2	1
33. Five tops for white parasols (dhavala chhatra) including a plate (paḍalai) soldered together with the knob (moṭṭu)	50	—	—
34. One top for a coloured sacred parasol of victory (vaṇṇigai tiru kora kuḍai), including a plate soldered together with the knob	15½	2	1
35. One ilaittaṭṭu (betel-leaf salver)	995	—	—
36. — do —	983	—	—
	4,020	13	1

(This sums up the gifts given by Rājarāja after he got the title of Śivapādaśēkhara and Rājarāja, from out of the treasures from the Chēra war as well as from his own treasure.)

(iv) Gifts given by him after his return from the war with Satyāśraya (they are all flowers offered by him to the Lord of Rājarājēśvaram as thanksgiving for his victory).

	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
37. 2 sacred gold flowers	20	—	—
38. 12 sacred gold flowers	119½	4	—
39. 10 sacred gold flowers	99½	—	—
40. 1 sacred gold flower	9¾	3	1
41. 1 sacred gold flower	1¾	1	—
42. 1 sacred gold flower shaped like a lotus (tāmarai)	13	6	—
	264	4	1

APPENDIX 4
RĀJARĀJA'S GIFTS OF ORNAMENTS TO DASKHIṆA MĒRU VIṬANKAR

	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1. One string of round beads (tiraḷmaṇi vaḍam) consisting of five strings soldered together	49	7	1
2. One tirukkaikkārai (polished armlet)	51½	—	—
3. — do —	45½	2	—
4. — do —	49½	2	1
5. — do —	45¾	—	—
6. One pair (ōraṇai) of tiruvaḍikkārai (polished leg-bangles)	96½	—	—
7. One tiruppaṭṭigai (sacred girdle)	149¼	—	—
	487	12	0

APPENDIX 5
GOLD ORNAMENTS AND JEWELS GIFTED BY RĀJARĀJA I TO THE LORD OF RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM

1. One diadem (Vīra-paṭṭam, forming part of the crown) for the Lord of the Rājarājēśvaram temple. It contained 343 kaḻanjus of gold (which was a quarter inferior in fineness to the standard gold called daṇḍavāṇi). It was bejewelled with crystals, three pōttis, ten diamond crystals, 64 corals, and 13,328 pearls (taken from the pearls of the second quality, which the king had poured as flowers at the feet of the Lord, weighing 547 kaḻanjus), and altogether weighed 1197 kaḻanjus, 7 manjāḍis and 1 kunri. Its value is lost.

(1) One sacred girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold	—	803	9	1
Crystals	30	3	9	—
Pinju	—	1½	3	1
Pearls	5611	235¾	2	—
Corals	57	7	—	1
Total weight:		1051	9	1

Value: 2000 kāśus

(2) The second girdle contained:				
Gold		10¾	—	1
Lac		9	6	—
Pinju		¾	2	—
Crystals	15	1	3	—
Pōttis	3	1	4	—
Pearls	2077	54½	2	—
Corals	30	¾	2	—
Total Weight:		78	14	1

Value: 90 kāśus

(3) The third girdle contained:				
Gold		10¾	—	—
Lac		9	8	1
Pinju		¾	2	—
Crystals	15	1	—	—
Pōttis	3	—	3	—
Pearls	1541	43¼	2	—
Corals	24	1	—	—
Total Weight:		66	10	1

Value: 90 kāśus

(4) The fourth girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold		10½	4-8/10	—
Lac		8½	3	1
Pinju		¾	—	—
Crystals	15	¾	3	1
Pōttis	3		3-2/10	—
Pearls	1590	45	2	1
Corals	24	¾	3	1
Total Weight:		67	6	—

Value: 90 kāśus

(5) The fifth girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold		10½	4	—
Lac		8¾	2	—
Pinju		¾	1	1
Crystals	15	1	2	—
Pōttis	3	—	2	1
Pearls	1625	43	1	—
Corals	24	1	—	—
Total Weight:		65	11	—

Value: 90 kāśus

(6) The sixth girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold		10½	4	—
Lac		8¾	—	1
Pinju		¾	—	—
Crystals	15	1	—	1
Pōttis	3	—	1	1
Pearls	1000 plus	41½	—	1
Corals	24	1	—	—
Total Weight:		63	17	—

Value: 90 kāśus

(7) The seventh girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold		10¾	2	—
Lac		8¾	2	1
Pinju		¾	2	—
Crystals	15	1	4	1
Pōttis	3	—	2	1
Pearls	1586	41	7	1
Corals	24	½	4	—
Total Weight:		64	—	—

Value: 90 kāśus

(8) The eighth girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold		10¼	1	—
Lac		8½	—	1
Pinju		¾	—	—
Crystals	15	¾	2	1
Pōttis	3	—	2-3/10	—
Pearls	1534	41	4-1/10	—
Corals	24	1	—	—
Total Weight:		62	15-2/10	—

(9) The ninth girdle contained:				
Gold		10¾	—	—
Lac		9½	—	—
Pinju		¾	2	—
Crystals	15	1	2	1
Pōttis	3	—	3	1
Pearls	1566	40¾	2	—
Corals	24	¾	4	—
Total Weight:		64	4	—

Value: 90 kāśus

The pearls which were graded second quality were of a large variety: round pearls, roundish pearls, polished pearls, small pearls, nimbōḷam, payiṭṭam, ambumudu, crude pearls, twin pearls, śappatti, śakkaṭṭu, pearls of brilliant water and pearls of red water.

The Ist gridle contained:	Nos.	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold	—	10¾	3	1
Lac	—	8	7	—
Pinju	—	¾	—	—
Crystals	15	1	—	—
Pōtti	3	1	—	—
Pearls	1512	41	7	—
Corals	24	¾	3	1
Total Weight:		64	6	—

Value: 90 kāśus

The 2nd girdle contained:				
Gold	—	10¾	4	—
Lac	—	8	7	—
Pinju	—	¾	—	—
Crystals	15	¾	4	1
Pōtti	3	—	3	—
Pearls	1502	41	9	—
Corals	24	¾	3	1
Total Weight:		63	11	—

Value: 90 kāśus

The 3rd girdle contained:	Nos.	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
Gold	—	10¾	4	—
Lac	—	9	3	1
Piṇju	—	½	3	1
Crystals	15	1	1	1
Pōtti	3	—	1	1
Pearls	1653	42½	1-9/10	—
Corals	24	¾	3-6/10	—
Total Weight:		65	7	1
	Value: 95 kāśus			
The 4th girdle contained:				
Gold	—	10¾	1	1
Lac	—	8½	3	1
Pinju	—	¾	2	1
Crystals	15	1	3	1
Pōtti	3	—	3	—
Pearls	1615	42½	4	—
Corals	24	¾	2	1
Total Weight:		65	5	1
	Value: 90 kāśus			
The 5th girdle contained:				
Gold	—	10¾	3	—
Lac	—	8	6	—
Pinju	—	¾	1	—
Crystals	15	1¼	—	1
Pōtti	3	—	3	—
Pearls	1599	40½	2	—
Corals	24	1	6	—
Total Weight:		63	6	1
	Value: 90 kāśus			
The 6th girdle contained:				
Gold	—	2	3-3/10	—
Lac	—	—	—	—
Pinju	—	—	3/10	—
Crystals	6	—	7/10	—
Pōtti	—	—	—	—
Pearls	277	2	9-2/10	—
Total Weight:		4	13	1
	Value: 5 kāśus			

APPENDIX 6
BRACELETS PRESENTED BY RĀJARĀJA I TO THE MAIN DEITY

In addition to the 15 girdles mentioned, 16 pearl bracelets (muttu-valayil) made of gold and strung with pearls were placed at the feet of Lord Rājarājēśvarar.

Bracelets No.	Gold			No. of Pearls	Wt. of pearls			Total			Value in
	K	M	K		K	M	K	K	M	K	Kāśus
Bracelets No. 1	5	9	1	359	10	1	1	15½	1	—	25
" No. 2	6	1	—	368	10	—	—	16	—	—	27
" No. 3	6	1	—	401	10	6	1	16	7	1	30
" No. 4	5	2	—	337	9¼	—	—	14	7	—	24
" No. 5	5	8	—	352	9½	3	1	15	1	1	25
" No. 6	5	8	—	351	8¾	1	1	14	4	1	24
" No. 7	5	8	—	369	10	8	1	15¾	1	1	25
" No. 8	5½	4	—	389	10½	2	1	16	6	1	25
" No. 9	5	7	1	375	10	8	—	15¾	—	1	26
" No. 10	5	2	1	349	9	6	—	14	8	1	24
" No. 11	5	2	1	350	9	7	1	14½	—	—	24
" No. 12	5	2	1	338	9	3	—	14½	—	1	24
" No. 13	5	6	—	361	9¾	1	—	15	2	—	25
" No. 14	5¾	—	1	364	9	1	—	15	6	1	26
" No. 15	5½	2	—	353	9½	2	—	15	4	—	25
" No. 16	5¼	—	—	354	9½	1	—	14¾	1	—	24
16 Bracelets:	87	5	0	5770	155	18	1	243	8	1	403

16 bracelets weighed 243½ kaḻanjus, cost 403 kāśus and had 5770 pearls strung on them weighing nearly 156 kaḻanjus. The gold in these bracelets weighed 87¼ kaḻanjus.

APPENDIX 7

ŚRĪCHHANDAS AND OTHER ITEMS GIFTED BY RĀJARĀJA I TO THE MAIN DEITY

Item	Gold wt.	Lac wt.	Pinju wt.	Crys-tals	Diam-onds	Pōttis	Pearls	Wt. in Kaḻanju	Value in Kāśu
Śrīchhanda 1	5¾	½	¼	18	—	13	981	41	55
Śrīchhanda 2	6	¾	¼	18	6	13	759	34	45
Śrīchhanda 3	6	¾	¼	18	6	13	998	42¾	56
Śrīchhanda 4	6	¾	¼	18	6	16	846	37¼	50
Śrīchhanda 5	1	—	—	2	—	—	260	3	3
Crown	NA	—	—	124	71	32	334	49½	86
Garland	NA	—	—	71	62	3	45	9¼	18
Gold	71¼	—	—	81	16	—	1372	99½	160
Total	96+	2¾+	1+	350	177	90	5595	316¼	473

NA = Not available in inscription (relevant portion being damaged)

APPENDIX 8

GIFTS OF BEJEWELLED ORNAMENTS BY RĀJARĀJA I TO THE MAIN DEITY

Nature of the Jewellery	Weight in Kaḻan-ju	Weight in Man-jāḍi	Weight in Kun-ri	Value in Kāśu	Gems† (see p. 304) D	S	P	T	CS	C	E	LL	R	*K*	Po	Cr.	General Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Necklace No. 1	170	7	—	500	28	—	40	—	—	—	16	—	15				
Necklace No. 2	100¼	—	—	360	24	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	23				
Necklace No. 3	64	6	1	220	64	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	3				
Necklace No. 4	51¼	—	—	(lost)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
Necklace No. 5	64¼	—	—	252	66	—	—	—	—	—	34	—	43				
Necklace No. 6 (composite)	(details lost)																
Necklace No. 7	120	—	—	301	76	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	24				
Necklace No. 8	Lost			101	(lost)						(lost)						
Necklace No. 9 (composite)	83⅛	—	—	200	54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7				Bits lost
Pāśamālai (Garland of rays)				74	—	—	83	—	—	—	—	—	70				Partially lost 41 pōtti 39 pōtti.
Lost	24	6		102¼	45	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—				
Tāli (Marriage Badge) with Ruby				50	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1				halahalam 1
One armlet (Śrī bāhuvaḷayam)	lost	1		55¼		—	—	—		—	—	—	—				Agivasada 1 Amethyst 1 Amethyst 1 Crystals 2 Kuppi 3 Kuppi 3

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 8 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
One armlet (— do —)	29	7	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 + 3				
Padakkam (Breast Plate)	13¾	1	—	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1				
Ratna Vaḷayil (Jewelled bracelet)	9	1-8/10		20½ + 1/20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	—				
— do —	4	8	—	Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	20	—				
— do —	Lost	—	—	Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	18	—				
— do —	14½	4	—	32¼	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—				
— do —	16½	2	—	45	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—				
— do —	Lost			30		Lost											
Tirukkaikkārai (arm ring)	9½	3	1	30¼	Lost	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	34				
Ratnakaṭakam (Jewelled bracelets)	—	1	1	Lost	36	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	25				
Lost	Lost	1		Lost									Lost				
Pavaḻa kaṭakam (Coral Bracelet)	20	9-3/10	—	38	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—				
— do —	20	¾ + 8/10	—	41½	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—				
Tiruppaṭṭigai (Girdle)	243½	3-3/10		406													
Lost			1	2	5								Lost			Partially damaged	
Pearl Uruṭṭu	3/4	3	1	20	3	1 + 1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	3			*Pearls (Nimbōḷam)	
— do —	Lost	Lost	1	20	3	1 + 1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	3			* –do–	
Ruby Uruṭṭu	Lost	—	—	Lost	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3			Special Rubies– Śaṭṭam, ilāśuṇi	
— do —	1¾	3	—	25	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3				
Diamond Uruṭṭu	¾ + 7/20	—	—	Lost	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Lost			Partially damaged	

(*Contd.*)

APPENDIX 8 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Śōnagach-Chiḍukkin-Kūḍu	¾	4	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	9				
— do —	1	9(?)	—	4-1/20	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	9				
Ratna-mōdiram (Jewelled ring)	2¾	4(?)	—	Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			Damaged	
— do —	1	Lost	—	Lost	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1			Damaged	
— do —	—	7	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
— do —	1	9	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
Ratna-mōdiram (Jewelled ring)	½	4	1	1									1*			*Inferior ruby called kuruvindam	
Nava-ratna-mōdiram	L¾	2	1	L	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Nava-ratna-mōdiram (nine jewelled ring)	2	6	—	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
— do —	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
— do —	2	7	1	Lost	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Lost	67½	3	1	Lost				L					2				
Lost	181	—	—	500												Details of the jewel set are lost	
Prishṭa kaṇḍigai	55¾	3	1	103	4								9†		6	26 kuppi diamonds 4 crystal diamonds.	
Śrīchhandam (pearl ornament)	38	7-9/10		40	4		L @				5		8£				

(*Contd.*)

† kuruvindam

@ 10 varieties of pearls

£ Nīlam and kōmaḷam rubies.

APPENDIX 8 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Sandal (for right foot)	28¼	—	—	57										—	—	10	38 Crystal diamonds
Sandal (for left foot)	28¼	—	—	57										—	—	10	— do —
Sandal (for right foot)	110 (inclusive of wood)	—	—	200	50									97**	—|	—	**Made of wood and covered with gold plates
Sandal (for left foot)	113	—	—	200	51									98***	—	—	***Superior rubies, viz. halahalam and kōmaḷam.
Sandal (for right foot)				65										4	25	180	— do — 314 crystal diamonds.
Sandal (for left foot)	140¼	—	—	65										L			— do —
Lost	91½	1	—	200			64								18	41	77 Crystal diamonds weighing 1 manjāḍi, 1 kunri

†D	Diamond	CS	Cinnamon stone	R	Ruby	K	Kuppi
S	Sapphire	C	Coral	L	Lost (inscription damaged)	Po	Pōtti
P	Pearls	E	Emerald			Cr	Crystals
T	Topaz	LL	Lapis Lazuli				

APPENDIX 9
LIST OF SILVER VESSELS GIFTED BY RĀJARĀJA I TO THE TEMPLE

(i) ABSTRACT

Items		nos.
Kāḷam	(trumpets)	11
Taḷigai	(a type of dish)	30
Maṇḍai	(literally a head, a type of bowl)	25
Kuḍam	(water pot)	8
Kalaśappani	(censer)	12
Mūkkuvaṭṭagai	(a basket with a spout)	6
Kaivaṭṭagai	(same as vaṭṭigai)	2
Vaṭṭil	(cups of different sizes)	25
Pingaḷam		2
kachchōlam		1
Paḍikkam	(spittoon)	7
Saṭṭuvam	(ladle)	2
Ney-muṭṭai	(a type of semi-spherical spoon used (even now) for serving ghee)	3
Kalaśam	(pot)	5
Maḍal	(a receptacle for vibhūti i.e. sacred ashes)	1
Neḍumaḍal	(a longish receptacle for the same purpose)	2
Kulu-maḍal	(a shortish one)	1
Taṭṭam	(salvers)	10
Ilai-Taṭṭu	(plate shaped like a leaf)	2
		155

(ii) DETAILS OF ITEMS WITH WEIGHT

Para No.	Nature of Vessel	Weight in Kaḻanju
3	One trumpet	307
4	One trumpet	L
5	One lost (probably a trumpet)	L
6	One trumpet	301½
7	One trumpet	301
8	One trumpet	397½
9	One trumpet	292½
10	One trumpet	281¾
11	One trumpet	273¾
12	One trumpet	225
13	One trumpet	208
14	One dish (taḷigai)	973
15	One dish (taḷigai)	982
16	One dish (taḷigai)	981
17	— do — („)	980

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 9 *(Contd.)*

Para No.	Nature of Vessel	Weight in Kaḻanju
18	— do — („)	978
19	— do — („)	977½
20	— do — („)	973½
21	— do — („)	971
22	— do — („)	970
23	— do — („)	964
		(4 paras damaged)
24	— do — („)	L
25	— do — („)	591
26	— do — („)	509
27	— do — („)	461
28	— do — („)	431
29	— do — („)	381½
30	— do — („)	317
31	— do — („)	287
32	— do — („)	284
33	— do — („)	270
34	— do — („)	262
35	— do — („)	212½
36	Two dishes (192 kaḻanjus per piece)	384
37	One dish (taḷigai)	187
38	— do — („)	185
39	— do — („)	178
40	— do — („)	166½
41	— do — („)	L
42	— do — („)	L
		(4 paras damaged)
43	One bowl (Maṇḍai)	391
44	— do — („)	33
45	— do — („)	240
46	— do — („)	227
47	— do — („)	226
48	Four bowls (225 k. each)	900
49	Two bowls (224 k. each)	448
50	Two bowls (223 k. each)	446
51	One bowl	221
52	— do —	220
53	Two bowls (219 k. each)	438
54	One bowl	218
55	— do —	217
56	— do —	215

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 9 *(Contd.)*

Para No.	Nature of Vessel	Weight in Kaḻanju
57	— do —	2 (About four paras damaged)
58	— do —	177½
59	— do —	165
60	One water-pot (kuḍam)	705
61	— do — — do —	692
62	— do — — do —	620
63	— do — — do —	598
64	— do — — do —	590
65	One kalaśappanai	920 (damaged)
66	— do — — do —	9 (damaged)
67	— do — — do —	710
68	— do — — do —	558
69	— do — — do —	537
70	— do — — do —	504
71	— do — — do —	471
72	— do — — do —	460
73	— do — — do —	446
74	— do — — do —	379
75	— do — — do —	14
76	One mūkku-vaṭṭagai	411
77	— do — — do —	4
78	Two — do — (139 k. each)	278
79	One mūkku-vaṭṭagai	110
80	— do — — do —	175
81	One kai-vaṭṭigai	567½
82	One vaṭṭil (Cup)	56½
83	— do — — do —	52¼
84	— do — — do —	51
85	— do — — do —	50½
86	— do — — do —	45½
87	— do — — do —	L
88	— do — — do —	43
89	— do — — do —	41½
90	— do — — do —	40½
91	Two — do — (38 k. each)	76
92	One — do —	L
93	L	L
94	One — do —	29

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 9 *(Contd.)*

Para No.	Nature of Vessel	Weight in Kaḻanju
95	One —do—	½
96	One cup	26
97	Three cups (25 k. each)	75
98	One cup (24 k. each)	24
99	Two cups (20¾ k. each)	41½
100	One cup	20½
101	One cup	L
102	One cup	37
103	One maḍal	29
104	One pingaḷam	159
105	One —do—	155
106	One kachchōlam	27½
107	One paḍikkam (spittoon)	713
108	One L	L
109	One paḍikkam	3 (damaged)
110	One L	32½
111	One L	50 (damaged)
112	One L	178
113	One saṭṭuvam (ladle)	141
114	One —do—	73½
115	One ney-muṭṭai (spoon for serving ghee)	87
116	—do— —do—	39
117	—do— —do—	26
118	One kuḍam (water pot)	970 (damaged)
119	—do—	952
120	—do—	947
121	—do—	949¼
122	One kalasappanai	L
123	One kalasam	504¼
124	—do—	504¼
125	—do—	4¾
126	—do—	483
127	—do—	4½
128	One bowl	296½
129	—do—	291¼
130	One kai-vaṭṭigai (aa)	970
131	One neḍu-maḍal (bb)	196
132	One —do—	188
133	One kuru-maḍal (cc)	100½
134	Three salvers (48¾ k. each)	146¼

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 9 *(Contd.)*

Para No.	Nature of Vessel	Weight in Kaḻanju
135	Three salvers (48½-2-1 k. each)	145¾
136	Two salvers (48½-2-0 k. each)	97¼
137	One salver	48½
138	One salver	47¼
139	One paḍikkam	1199
140	One ilait-taṭṭu	1220 (damaged)
141	One ilait-taṭṭu	1 (damaged)

L Inscription is damaged and hence the figure is not decipherable
aa Hand basket
bb Long or big receptacle for sacred ashes
cc Small receptacle for sacred ashes
k. Kaḻanju

APPENDIX 10
GIFTS OF KUNDAVAI

	Weight		
(i) Gifts to Umā Paramēśvari, the Consort of Āḍavallār	Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1. One gold plate (taḷigai)	398½	—	—
2. — do — (taḷigai)	496	—	—
3. One gold bowl (maṇḍai)	199	—	—
4. — do—	399¾	—	—
5. One gold water pot (kuṭa)	198½	—	—
6. — do —	199¾	—	—
7. — do —	196	7	1
8. — do —	198	—	—
9. One gold cup (vaṭṭil)	97½	—	—
10. One gold receptacle for sacred ashes ornamented with lotus designs along with an aḍi (stand) (pushkarapaṭṭi-maḍal)	80	—	—
11. One golden chunnam box (karaṇḍigai-ch-choppu)	199	—	—
Total:	2662	7	1

(ii) Gifts to Umā Paramēśvari, Consort of Āḍavallār Dakshiṇa Mēru Viṭankar	Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1. One oṭṭu vaṭṭil	198½	2	1
2. One — do —	197½	—	—
3. One tavukkai (salver)	147	6	—
4. One — do —	146¾	1	1
5. One kalaśappanai (censer)	295¼	—	—
6. One annam (swan)	98¼	—	—
7. One kiḷi (parrot) with two precious stones set into the eyes	34	9	1
8. One handle for a white chamara (veṇ-śāmarai)	19¾	—	—
9. — do —	19½	2	—
10. One handle for a fly-whisk (ichchōppi)	20	—	—
11. — do —	19½	—	—
12. One sacred crown (makuṭa)	275½	—	—
13. Sacred gold flowers — 165 nos.	825	—	—
14. — do — — 35 nos.	174	2	1
15. One pendant (tūkkam)	29½	—	—
16. One pair of sacred ear-rings (tiru vāḷi)	6	8	1
17. One pair of double uruṭṭu	10	1	—
18. One pair of sacred ear-rings (tirukkambi)	14¾	1	1
19. One string of beads for the marriage badge set with diamonds including 157 beads for the marriage badge, four paḍukkaṇ, four kaḷḷi-pu, one kokkuvōy and two square diamonds (śavakkam)	11	1	—

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 10 *(Contd.)*

	Kalanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
20. One necklace (kanṭha-tuḍar) of three chains soldered into one	62	—	—
21. One outer chain	24½	2	1
22. One śāyalam of diamonds	122¾	—	—
23. One pair of poṭṭus for the arms of the Goddess	90½	—	—
24. One pair of bracelets for the arms (kaṭaka)	56	2	1
25. One pair of rings for the goddess with claws engraved on the outside	150½	—	—
26. One wrought girdle (tōḷil paṭṭigai)	344	—	—
27. One pair of rings for the legs (tiruvaḍikkārai) with claws engraved outside	150¼	—	—
28. One pair of śāyalam for the feet (pāda śāyalam)	109½	—	—
29. Ten rings for the toes (tiruk-kāl-mōdirum)	14¾	2	1
	3668	13	1

(iii) Gifts to Umā Paramēśvari, Consort of Tanjai Viṭankar	Kalanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1. One plate (taḷigai)	448	4	—
2. One bowl (manḍai)	296½	—	—
3. One oṭṭu vaṭṭil	197¾	—	—
4. One tavukkai	48	9	—
5. One kalaśappanai (censer)	295	7	1
6. One pot (kalaśa)	196½	—	—
7. — do —	197¼	—	—
8. — do —	197	8	—
9. One chunnam book (karanḍigai cheppu)	198¼	—	—
10. One handle for a white chāmara	19½	4	—
11. One handle for a white chāmara	19½	1	1
12. 48 sacred gold flowers (tirupporppū)	240	—	—
13. 72 — do —	358	4	—
14. 6 — do —	29½	4	—
15. 3 — do —	14¾	—	1
16. One — do —	4¾	—	—
	2662	7	1

Total:	Kalanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
(i)	2662	7	1
(ii)	3668	13	1
(iii)	2662	7	1
	8993	8	1

Gifts of gold ornaments and other insignias (chinhas) to the Consort of both Dakshiṇa Mēru Vitankar and Tanjai Vitankar given in the years from the 25th to the 29th, excluding those gifts of the 25th year, are listed out in a record engraved on the north portion of the upper tier (jagatippaḍai) of the adhishṭhāna.

APPENDIX 11

DETAILS OF THIRTEEN ORNAMENTS GIVEN BY KUNDAVAI TO THE CONSORT OF DAKSHIṆA MĒRU VIṬANKAR

	Diamonds	Rubies	Pearls	Weight		Value in
				Kaḷanju	Manjāḍi	kāśus
1. Makuṭa (crown)	859	309	669	407	9	5,000
2. Ear-ring (vāḷi)	—	—	9	2	10†	15
3. Ear-ring (vāḷi)	—	—	9	2	10†	15
4. Uruṭṭu	6	2	2	2½	2†	15
5. — do —	6	2	2	2½	2†	15
6. Tiru-mālai	505*	110	94	103½	1	1,000
7. Śrībāhuvaḷayam	441**	54††	68‡	104¼	8†	1,250
8. — do —	448	53	62	104½	4†	1,250
9. Śrīchhanda	390	80	1462	174¼	—	1,500
10. Poṭṭu	—	1	137	26¾	5†	80
11. — do —	—	1	143	26½	3†	80
12. Śūḍagam (bracelet)	620	55	—	85¾	1	800
13. — do —	675	60	—	90¾	1	800
Total	3950	727	2657	1135	1	11,820

*These 505 diamonds were made up of:

Plain diamonds with smooth edge	290
Flat diamonds with smooth edge	53
Panḍaśaram	4
Śappadi (Flat diamond)	5
Śavakkam (Square diamond)	15
Uruḷai (Round diamond)	58
Tūyana (Pure diamond)	80
	505

† Rounded off to the nearest manjāḍi.

** †† ‡ Similarly, rubies and pearls were of various categories. Thus for instance the pearls were of the following varieties:-

1. Round
2. Roundish
3. Polished
4. Nimbōḷam
5. Payiṭṭam
6. Anbumudu
7. Śakkaṭṭu
8. Pearls of brilliant water and red water
9. Pearls with rubbed face
10. Pearls with cracked face

APPENDIX 12

GIFTS BY KUNDAVAI TO THE CONSORT OF DAKSHIṆA MĒRU VIṬANKAR UPTO THE 3RD YEAR OF RAJENDRA I (FIVE PIECES)

	Weight			Diamonds	Rubies	Pearls	Value in kāśu
	Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri				
1. Tiruppaṭṭigai (girdle)	129	7/10	—	667	212	83	4500
2. Tiru-aḍi-kārai (foot-ring)	78¾	1 8/10	—	455	39	—	500
3. „ „	77	4	1	459	39	—	500
4. Śrī-pāda-śāyalam	43¾	3	1	360	72	42	350
5. „ „	43	1	—	360	72	42	350
	372	1	1	2301	434	167	6200

APPENDIX 13

GIFTS BY KUNDAVAI OF GOLD ORNAMENTS TO CONSORT OF TANJAI VIṬANKAR

Sl. No.	Description of item	No. of pieces	Weight		
			Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri
1.	Makuṭa (Sacred Crown)	1	197½	5	—
2.	Tūkkam (pendant)	1	27¾	—	—
3.	Vāḷi (ear rings in gold)	1 pair	2½	3	—
4.	Double uruṭṭu (in gold)	1 pair	3½	—	—
5.	Tirukkambi (ear-rings in gold)	1 pair	5½	—	1
6.	Tāli-maṇi-vaḍam (bead string for the marriage badge)	1	2¾	—	1
7.	Vaira-śāyalam (in gold) (diamond śāyalam)	1	27½	—	—
8.	Kanṭha-tuḍar (necklace of 3 chains soldered together)	1	21	—	—
9.	Purat-tuḍar (in gold)	1	10¾	4	—
10.	Gold poṭṭu for the arms	1 pair	59	4	1
11.	Gold kaṭaka (bracelets for arms)	1 pair	39	7	—
12.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai (in gold)	1 pair	64¾	—	—
13.	Tiru-aḍik-kārai (in gold)	1 pair	17¾	—	—
14.	Śrī-pāda-śāyalam (in gold)	1 pair	67	9	—
15.	Tiru-aḍi-kāl mōdiram (toe rings)	10 pieces	11¼	—	—
			559	3	1

APPENDIX 14
GIFTS BY KUNDAVAI OF JEWELS TO CONSORT OF TANJAI VIṬANKAR

Sl. No.	Description of the Jewel	No. of gems set in	Weight			Value in Kāśu
			Kaḻanju	Manjāḍi	Kunri	
1.	Makuṭa (crown) in gold containing		207	8 2/10	—	
	Diamond crystal	525	2	3 5/10 + 1/20	—	
	Paḷingu	227	5	4 1/20		
	Pearls	16	1½	4 9/10 + 1/10	—	
	Strung Pearls†	385	13	7	—	
			229	17 8/10		700
2.	Mālai (garland) in gold containing Gold		46	8 3/40	—	—
	Diamond crystals	288	½	3 7/10	—	—
		(List is incomplete)				

†These pearls were strung on two strings (vaḍam) on both sides of the front plate (vīra paṭṭa), apart from four bundles (śavi) of single strings, two single pendants (tūkkam), and three strings on the ornamental curves (kōḍam) and on the karaṇḍigai.

APPENDIX 14(A)
KUNDAVAI'S GIFTS—ABSTRACT OF APPENDICES 10, 11, 12 AND 13

To summarise, Kundavai's gifts included

8993 kaḻanjus of ritual vessels and aids for worship,

2343 kaḻanjus of jewellery and ornaments, whose total value is not available from the records, besides

Two sets of deposits of

960 kāśus and 1040 kāśus for service and worship of the icons of her parents

In addition,

5000 kaḻanjus of gold for decorating the arangu (the hall).

APPENDIX 15

GIFTS OF ORNAMENTS AND JEWELLERY MADE BY THE QUEENS AND MINISTERS OF RĀJARĀJA I TO THE ICONS SET UP BY THEM

k=kaḷanju; m.=manjāḍi; ki.=kunri

Sl. No.	Item Description	NO. OF PIECES	PEARLS	PALINGU	PALINGU DIA	CORAL	PŌTTI	KAṬṬIP-PU	MAṬṬAP-PU	MOṬṬU	RĀJAVARTTAM	DĀḶIMBAM	PAḌUKKAN	KOKUVOI	Weight of Gold: KAḶANJU	Weight of Gold: MANJĀḌI	Weight of Gold: KUNRI	VALUE IN KĀŚU
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	GIFTS OF LŌKAMAHĀDEVI TO PICHCHADĒVAR (SII, II, 34)																	
1.	Sapatasāri (Seven Strings)–Necklace	1	372	8	14	8					14	2	12	1	36 3/4	3	1	100
2.	Triśaram (Three strings)–Necklace	1	99	4	6	2					6	2	1	1	9 3/4		1	20 1/4

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
3.	Porp-oū (Gold Flower)	1													$1\frac{1}{4}$			
4.	Tiruk-Kudambai (ear ornament)	1													2	8		
5.	Toḍu (Ear-drops)	1													$2\frac{3}{4}$	4	1	
6.	Trial-mani-vaḍam (4k. 4m. each)	3													$12\frac{1}{2}$	2		
7.	Tiruk-kaik ($9\frac{3}{4}$k. 2m. 1ki each)	1+1													$19\frac{3}{4}$			
8.	Tiruk-kaik (12k. each)	1+1													24			
9.	Tirup-paṭṭigai	1													$49\frac{3}{4}$			
10.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													$11\frac{3}{4}$	2	1	
11.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													12			
12.	Kuru-maḍal	1													$20\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	
13.	Kapālam (in silver)	1													37	7	1	
	(i) GIFTS OF PANCHAVAN MAHADEVI TO TANJAI VITANKAR																	
1.	Tirumālai	1	9	94	2								1	1	91			125
2.	Ēkavalli	1	31			2					2	2	1	1	4	$3\frac{8}{10}$		6
3.	—do—	1	28			2					2	2	1	1	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{4}{10}$		8
4.	—do—	1	30			2					1	2	1	1	4	$9\frac{9}{10}$		7
5.	—do—	1	32			2					2	2	1	1	4	2		10
6.	Srīchhandam	1	2524	37			27								106	$1\frac{2}{10}$		141
			8															
7.	Vaḍugavāli	1	9												$2\frac{1}{2}$	3		7
8.	Śrī bāhu valayam +iḍai-kaṭṭu 2+ mugam 1	1	263	49	181		6								$45\frac{1}{2}$	4	1	52
9.	—do— + iḍai-kaṭṭu 2+ mugam 1	1	265	50	195		6								$45\frac{3}{4}$	2		52
10.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1	411	32			12								22	9	1	28
11.	—do—	1	385	32			12								22		1	26

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
12.	—do—	1	415	32			12								22	6		27
13.	—do—	1	426	32			12								22 3/4	4		29
14.	Tirup-paṭṭigai with	1													80 3/4	2	1	55
	(i) mukham: 1 containing		9	24	56		9											
	(ii) Anju kaṭṭippū:12			54			6											
	(iii) Maṭṭap-pū: 8			4			4											
	(iv) moṭṭu: 1			1	9		1											
	(v) śavi with vaḍams: 8		2349	16			8											
15.	Tiruvaḍik-kārai with	1													31	6	1	44
	12 vaḍams		469	42			30											
16.	—do— with	1													30 1/2	4 3/10		42
	12 vadams		488	42			30											
17.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													11 1/2			
18.	—do—	1													11	7	1	
19.	—do—	1													12 3/4	2		
20.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													16 3/4	2		
21.	—do—	1													16 1/4			
22.	Kuṟṟuḍaivāḷ (short dagger)	1													13 3/4	1		
23.	Taḷigai (plate) (silver) Both inscribed with the	1													419	7	1	
24.	Vaṭṭil (pot) (silver) name: Panchavan Mahādēvi	1													71	6 4/10		
	(ii) GIFTS OF PANCHAVAN MAHĀDEVI TO UMĀ PARAMĒŚWARI, CONSORT OF TAÑJAI VITANKAR (SII, II, 51)																	
1.	Pearl Śiḍukku	1	18												2		1	4 7/20
2.	Pearl Śooḍagam, with Karaḍigai (6) & Vaḍam (14)	1	481	70			24								20 1/4		1	30
3.	Pearl Śooḍagam, with Karaḍigai (6) & Vaḍam (14)	1	485	79			24								21 1/4			30
4.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai, with Karaḍigai (6) & Vaḍam (12)	1	467	87			22								20 3/4			25
5.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai, with Karaḍigai (6) & Vaḍam (12)	1	468	81			24								19	8		24

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
6.	Kārai (Collar), with tiru (screw)	1													2	7	1	
7.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													9½		1	
8.	— do —	1													9¼			
9.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													10½	2	1	
10.	Tiruk-kārai	1													11¼			
(iii)	GIFTS OF PANCHAVAN MAHĀDĒVI TO GAṆAPATI (YĀR) (SII, II, 51)																	
1.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													10½			
2.	— do —	1													10			
3.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													11¾			
4.	— do —	1													12	7	1	
(iv)	GIFTS OF PANCHAVAN MAHĀDĒVI TO SAINT PATANJALI DĒVAR (SII, II, 53)																	
1.	Tirup-porp-pū (2 kaḻanju each)	22													44			
2.	Tiru-makaram (ear ornaments shaped like makara)	1+1													1¾	4		
3.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													4¾	2	1	
4.	— do —	1													5			
(i)	GIFTS OF CHŌḶA MAHĀDĒVI TO ĀḌAVALLĀR (NAṬARĀJA) (SII, II, 42)																	
1.	Tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam (a string of round beads)	1													6½	1		
(ii)	GIFTS OF CHŌḶA MAHĀDĒVI TO UMĀ PARAMĒŚVARI, CONSORT OF ĀḌAVALLĀR (SII, II, 42)																	
*1.	Tiru (Tirugu= spiral)	1	3e.			+ 3d.				+ 3r.		2	1	1	1½	2	1	
2.	Tri-śaram (a necklace with three strings) with 2	1	87			6						2	2		3¾	4 7/10		
3.	Tāli-maṇi-vaḍam nembu (pins) in gold	1													1¾	2	1	
(iii)	GIFTS OF CHŌḶA MAHĀDĒVI TO RISHABHAVĀHANA DĒVAR (SII, II, 46)																	
1.	Tiru-mālai (a garland in gold), small	1	36	56			24								6¼	4	1	11
2.	Turuttu	1	22	1											½	3 8/10		3

* e=emerald; d=diamond; r=rubies

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
3.	Vaḍam (chain)	1	33			2					2	2	1	1	3¾	3 3/10		16
4.	— do — (— do —)	1	35			2					2	2	1	1	3¾	1 8/10		15
5.	— do — (— do —)	1	31			2					2	2	1	1	3¾	3 1/10		15
6.	Kaḷāvam with 2 nembu (pins) in gold	1	99			6						2 (in cluster of 3)	2		4¾	3	1	11
7.	Panchasāri with 2 nembu (pins) in gold	1	243			10						2 (in cluster of 5)	1		8½	3 6/10		8
8.	Śrīchhandam with 13 nembu (pins) in gold	1	869	21			8								26	1		30
9.	Vaḷayil (bangles) (Ponnin Paṭṭai-mēl-guṇḍuvaittu viḷakkina)	1	378												11¾	1	1	13¼+⅛
10.	— do —	1	376												10½	3	1	13
11.	— do —	1	271												9	9	1	6
12.	— do —	1	142												7½	1		7
13.	Udara-bandha (belly-band)	1	306	8			3								8	7	1	8
14.	Tirup-paṭṭigai with Kimbiri face (1)+Viḍangu (4)	1	734	20			12		10	1					40			26
15.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai (ponnin-paṭṭai-mēl-guṇḍuvaittu-viḷakkina)	1	375												12½		1	15¼
16.	— do —	1	372												12		1	16
17.	Tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam	1													7½			
18.	— do —	1													7	4	1	
19.	Tiruk-kaik-kaṛai	1													9			
20.	— do —	1													8¾			
21.	— do —	1													8½	3	1	
22.	— do —	1													6	3		

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
23.	Tirup-paṭṭigai	1													30			
24.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													15¼			
25.	— do —	1													9¾	2	1	
26.	Tiru-vaḍi-nilai	1													49¾			
27.	Kapālam (skull)	1													50	7	1	
28.	Veṇ-śāmarak-kai	1													12			
29.	— do —	1													9¾	3 6/10		
30.	Kuṟṟuḍaivāḷ (with Āśu(hilt) and Kaṇḍam (blade) in gold)	1																
31.	Paradal (in silver)	1													105			
32.	Maṇḍai (in silver)	1													185			
33.	Kachchōlam (in silver)	1													29¼			
(iv)	GIFTS BY CHŌḶA MAHĀDĒVI TO UMĀ PARMAMĒŚVARI, CONSORT OF RISHABHAVĀHANA DĒVAR (SII, II, 46)																	
1.	Ponnin-nāṇil-kōtta māṇikkattin tiru (screw)	1											1	1	2	2	1	8
2.	Ponnin paṭṭai-mēl-guṇḍu-vaittu-viḷakkina vaḷayil (bangle)	1	136												7½	1		7
3.	— do —	1	376												10	9		12
4.	Tirup-paṭṭigai, with kimpiri face vaḷayil (bangle)	1	548					5		10	5				24½	3	1	15
5.	Ponnin-paṭṭai-mēl-guṇḍu-vaittu-viḷakkina tiru-vaḍikkārai	1	160												15			10
6.	— do —	1	158												10	2	1	15¼
7.	Tāli-maṇi-vaḍam (necklace of beads with marriage badge)	1													1¾	4	1	
8.	Tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam	1													4½	2		
9.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													5¾	2	1	
10.	— do —	1													6			

(*Contd.*)

APPENDIX 15 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
11.	Tirup-paṭṭigai	1													20¼			
12.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													8¾			
13.	— do —	1													6			
(v)	GIFTS BY CHŌḶA MAHĀDĒVI TO GAṆAPATI(YĀR) (SII, II, 37)																	
1.	Tirup-por-pū (sacred gold flower)	1													3			
2.	Pooṇ-nool (sacred thread in gold)	1													6	2	1	
	GIFTS BY PRITHIVĪ MAHĀDĒVI TO ŚRĪKAṆṬHAMŪRTI (SII, II, 80)																	
1.	Tiruk-kambi (sacred wire, an ear ornament) (one pair)	1+1													2		1	
2.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai (4¾ k. each)†	1+1													9½			
3.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai ,,	1													4¾	2		
4.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai ,,	1													4½	3		
	GIFTS MADE BY ABHIMĀNAVALLI(YĀR) TO LINGAPURĀṆA DĒVAR (SII, II, 44)																	
1.	Tālvaḍam (necklace)	1	430 (on cluster)												1½	2	1	¼
2.	— do —	1	88												3½			½
	GIFTS BY KRISHṆAN RĀMAN TO ARDHANĀRĪŚVARAR (SII, II, 39)																	
1.	Śrī-muḍi (sacred crown)	1	121+7	34	11										30	3		50
2.	Tiru-mālai (sacred garland)	1	10	32	26		7								6	7		12
3.	Vīra-paṭṭam (royal front plate) with **nerunji** flowers	1	111												4	3		3
4.	Śrī-bāhuvaḷayam	1		3											2	8	1	5
5.	— do —	1													2½	2	1	5
6.	Udara-bandha (waist band)	1		1	2										3½	1		7
7.	Tirup-por-pū (4 k. pū)	16													64			
8.	— do — (4 k. per pū)	4													16	2		

(*Contd.*)

APPENDIX 15 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
9.	— do —	1													4	1		
10.	— do — (3¾ k. per pū)	5													19¾	2	1	
11.	— do — (3¾ k. per pū)	3													11¾	2		
12.	— do —	1													3	9		
13.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													1½	3	1	
14.	— do —	1													1½	2		
15.	— do —	1													1½	4	1	
16.	Tiruppaṭṭigai	1													1¾	2	1	
17.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													1¾	4	1	
18.	— do —	1													2	7	1	
(i)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN TO NAMBI ĀRŪRANĀR																	
1.	Tāḻ-vaḍam in rudrāksha (with 56 gold screws, and 56 rudrāksha beads)	1													8	9		25
(ii)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN TO NANGAI PARAVAIYĀR																	
1.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1+1													3			
2.	— do —	1+1													3			
3.	Mōdiram (rings)														½	1	1	
(iii)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN TO TIRUNĀVUKARAIYAR																	
1.	Rudrāksha śuri (with gold thread with one rudrāksha)	1														6 2/10		1
2.	— do —	1														6 2/10		1
3.	Kanṯhikai (necklace) (with one rudrāksha and one śuri)	1													5	2	1	8
4.	Tirup-por-pū	1													¾	4	1	
5.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													2			
6.	— do —	1													1¾	4		

(*Contd.*)

APPENDIX 15 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
(iv)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN TO TIRUJNĀNASAMBANDAR																	
1.	Rudrāksha Śuri (with one rudrāksha, and a screw fixed to it)	1													½	2		1½
2.	— do —	1													½	1	1	1½
3.	Tāḻ-vaḍam (with 56 rudrākshas and 56 śuris)	1													8	4	1	25
4.	Tirup-por-pū	1													1		1	
5.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													2		1	
6.	— do —	1													1¾	4		
7.	Tirup-paṭṭigai (girdle)	1													2			
(v)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN TO PERIYA PERUMĀḶ																	
1.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai (1 k. 6 3/10 m.)	1+1													2½	2 4/10		
2.	Tiruk-kudambai (ear-rings) (8 7/10 m.)	1+1													¾	2 4/10		
(vi)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN TO OLŌGAMĀDĒVIYĀR, CONSORT OF PERIYA PERUMĀḶ																	
1.	Tiruk-kudambai (7 m. 1ki.)	1+1													¾			
2.	Ṭiruk-kaik-kārai	1													1	2 5/10		
3.	— do —	1													1	8/10		
(vii)	GIFTS OF CITIZENS OF PARAKĒSARIPURAM TO TIRUJÑĀNASAMBANDAR SET UP BY ĀDITYAN SŪRYAN																	
1.	**Rudraksha** Śuri (in gold)	1											1	1	1	7		3¼
(viii)	GIFTS OF SAME PEOPLE TO TIRUNĀVUKKARAIYAR																	
1.	Rudrāksha Suri	1													1	7		3
(ix)	GIFTS OF SAME PEOPLE TO NAMBI ĀRŪRANĀR																	
1.	Rudrāksha Śuri	1													1	7		3

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
(x)	GIFTS OF SAME PEOPLE TO NANGAI PARAVAIYĀR																	
1.	Paṭṭaik-kārai (neck-ring) with a tiru(gu) (screw)	1													¾		1	
(xi)	GIFTS OF CITIZENS OF VEṆṆI (VILLAGE) TO NAMBI ĀRŪRANĀR																	
1.	Tiruk-kambi	1													1	1	1	
2.	— do —	1													1	1		
3.	Tiraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam	1													2	1	1	
4.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													1¾	4		
5.	— do —	1													1¾	3	1	
6.	Tiruk-kārk-kārai (1¾ k. 4 m.)	1													3¾	3		
(xii)	GIFTS BY SAME PEOPLE TO NANGAI PARAVAIYĀR (SII, II, 45)																	
1.	Tiruk-kambi	1													¾	2	1	
2.	— do —	1													¾	2		
(xiii)	GIFTS OF ĀDITYA SŪRYAN TO MILĀDUḌAIYĀR (SII, II, 47)																	
1.	Rudrāksha (with gold, weighing 7 manjāḍi)	1													½	4	1	1
	GIFTS OF KŌVAN AṆṆĀMALAI TO BHRINGĪŚA (SII. II. 47)																	
1.	Triśaram (three stringed necklace)	1	150									1	1		5¼			3½
2.	Kanṭha-nāṇ (necklace)	1					Rudraksha 1						1	1	1			5
3.	Tiruk-kaik-kārai	1													1	2		
4.	— do —	1													1	4		
5.	— do —	1													¾	4	1	
6.	Tiru-vaḍik-kārai	1													1	4		
7.	— do —	1													1	1	1	
8.	— do —	1													1	3	1	

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 15 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
GIFTS OF ĪRĀIRAVAN PALLAVAYAN TO CHAṆḌĒŚA (SII, II, 55)																		
1.	Kaḷāvam (also Kalāpam) (girdle) of 3 strings	1	93			6					6 2 inclusters of 3)		1	1	8¾	1	1	7 1/20
2.	Ēkāvaḷi	1	2			2					2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1½
3.	Vaḍam (a string of pearls)	1	46			1									1		1	½
GIFTS OF VAḌUGAN TO DURGĀ PARAMĒŚVARI (SII, II, 79)																		
1.	Vaḍuga vāḷi (a Telugu ear-ring)	1	6												¾			1½
2.	— do —	1	6												¾			1½
3.	Muttu-maṭtirai (an ear-ring, in pearl)	1	1														1	7/20+1/40
4.	— do —	1	1												¼			7/20+1/40
5.	— do —	1	1												¼			7/20+1/40
6.	— do —	1	1												¼			7/20+1/40
7.	Pancha-śari with paligai in fives	1	187												6			4
8.	Kaḷāvam (with 3 pearl strings, and paligais in clusters of three)	1	81										1		2¾	7	1	2½
9.	Ēkāvaḷi	1	28									1	1		1	4	1	1½
10.	Mānikkattin tāli (marriage badge in ruby)	1											1	1	1	3		3
11.	Muttin Śooḍagam (pearl bracelet) with gold nembu	1	250												4¾	4		4
12.	— do —	1	284												4	6		4
13.	— do —	1	292												5¼			4½
14.	— do —	1	205												5¼			4¾
15.	Tiruk-kāl-vaḍam	1	27												½	3 2/10		7/20+1/40
16.	Tiruk-kāl-vaḍam	1	30												½	2	1	7/20+1/40

(*Contd.*)

APPENDIX 15 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
17.	Tiruk-kambi (sacred wire, an ear ornament) (Ōranai-a pair)	1+1													2¾	4		
18.	Tāli-maṇi-vaḍam (a string of beads carrying the marriage badge)	1													1	3		
19.	Tirup-paṭṭigai	1													2			
20.	Tiruk-kārk-kārai	1+1													5	6		
21.	Ichchōpik-kai (fly whisk handle)	1													19	9		
22.	— do — — do —	1													19½	4		

APPENDIX 16*
REVENUE DUES FROM VILLAGES IN CHŌḶAMAṆḌALAM

Name of the place	Total area	Balance area from tax	ex-empted	Paddy (in kalams)	Cash (in kāśus)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Aruḷmoḻidēva vaḷanāḍu					
1. Paḻaiyūr in Ingā nāḍu	125			12,350	
2. Arappāl in Ingā nāḍu	107½			10,745	
3. Kirandēvankuḍi in Ingā nāḍu	40¾			4,070	
4. Nagank... in Ingā nāḍu	21¾			2,183	
5. (name lost) in Ingā nāḍu	lost	5	115¼	11,526	
6. Tanikkunram alias Rājarāja-nallūr in Ingā nāḍu	36½	2½	34	3,378	
7. Uchchipāḍi in Ingā nāḍu	57½	1¾	55½	5,176	
8. Kiḻvaḍugakkuḍi in Ingā nāḍu	27½	1	26½	2,640	
9. Kanjara-nagar... (lost)	6¾	1/20	6¾	674	
10. Uśikkaṉṉanguḍi	5½	3/20	5½	518	
11. Vaḍaviraiyānpaḷḷam in Aravalakkūṟṟram, a subdivision of.. (lost)	24½	6/20	23¾	2,398	
12. Tiruttengūr, a town in Ingā nāḍu	34¼	4½	29½		297
Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu					
13. Arakkankuḍi, in Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu	7¼	½	6¾	656	
14. Piḍāraśēri in Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu	5½	¼	5¼	535	
15. Maṇarkaḷappaḷḷi & Peṇpaḷḷi in Vēḷānāḍu in the same nāḍu	51¾	1¾	49¾	4,918	
Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu (between the Kāvēri and the Ariśil rivers)					
16. Nelkuppai in Tiraimūr nāḍu	39	1½	37¼	3,722	
Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu					
17. Maruttuvakkuḍi in Innambar nāḍu	30¼	¾	29¾	2,967	
18. Karuppuri in Innambar nāḍu	5½	(lost)	(lost)	549	
19. Tiruttēvankuḍi in Tiruvali nāḍu	29¼	(lost)	(lost)	2,900	
20. Kuruvaniyakkuḍi in Tiruvali nāḍu	46	(lost)	39½	304	
Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu					
21. Anpanūr in Kiḻ-pālāru, a subdivision of Pāchchir kūṟṟam	80¾	4¾	75¾	5,850	
22. Ingaiyūr in Kiḻpālāru, a subdivision of Pāchchir kūṟṟam	45½	2¾	42¾	4,278	
23. ...nūr, alias Panamangalam in Panamagala Vanakarai paṟṟu, " "	42½	1½	40½	4,072	
24. Śaṭṭānpāḍi in Panamangala Vanagaraipaṟṟu, " "	19	¼	18¾	1,888	

* See p. 232 of the text

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 16 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6
25. ... Kankuḍi, in Śem.. paṟṟu in Kīl-pālāru, ,, ,,	4¾	3/20	4½	469	
26. Māndōṭṭam in Kaḻārakūṟṟam ,, ,,	15	¾	14½	1,456	
27. Iraiyānśēri in Kaḻārakūṟṟam, ,, ,,	12½	¾	11¾	1,169	
28. Veṇkoṇkuḍi, in Veṇkoṇ-kuḍi Kaṇḍam	50¼	2¼	48	4,784	
29. Maganikkuḍi in Veṇkoṇ-Kaḻārakūṟṟam ,, ,,	23½	½	23	2,315	
30. Śiruśemburai in Śemburailaṇḍam in ,, ,,	6½	7/20	6	612	
31. Turaiyūr, in Kīḻ-pālāru	152¾	3	149½	14,888	
32. Karimangalam in Kīḻ-pālāru	11½	7/20	11	1,083	
Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu					
33. Veṇṇi, a nagara in Veṇṇikūṟṟam	21½	4	17½		93
34. Pūda (Bhūta) mangalam	25¾	½	25¼		246
35. Miḍuvēli	3¾	¼	3		30¼
36. Nagarakkarikkurichchi	2¾	(lost)	(lost)		28½
37. Vaḍatāmarai	6¾	2/20	6¾		64¾
38. Veṇṇitirappānpaḷḷi	10½	2½	7¾		77¾
Arumoḻideva vaḷanāḍu					
39. Kōḍimangalam, in Takkaḷūr nāḍu	53¼	2½	50½		167½
40. Viḍēlviḍugu Pallavapuram in Takkaḷūr nāḍu	27¾	17½	20¼		167½

NOTE:- It is noticed from these inscriptions that the area of land is expressed in integral and fractional numbers, the fractions being as follows:

kāl = ¼; arai = ½; mukkāl = ¾; mā = 1/20; kāni = 1/80; mundiri = 1/320; the Tamil term kīḻ means of 1/320 and deriving from it. 'kīḻ-arai' means half of that, i.e., 1/320 of ½ etc. An illustration is given below:

nūṟṟambattu iraṇḍē mukkālē araikkāṇi mundirikai-k-kīḻ (araiyē mūnru mākkāṇik)— kīḻ (mukkālē mūnru mā mukkāṇi). This is the degree of precision in land measurement attained by the Chōḻas in the heart-land of their empire (which was also the most fertile part of it and still continues to be the granary of the south). The term mā was used in the sense of 'one-tenth of', and not '1/20th of' as is generally the case; similarly kāṇi used in relation to money (i.e. manjāḍi) is one-fortieth and not one-eightieth.

As regards the units of volumetric measure for grains, the following table will help understand the calculations:

1 kalam	=	3 tūni	1 kuruṇi (or marakkāl)	=	8 nāḻi (or paḍi)
1 tūni	=	2 padakku	1 nāḻi	=	2 ūri
1 padakku	=	2 kuruṇi (or marakkāl)	1 ūri	=	2 ulakku
			1 uḷakku	=	2 āḷākku

APPENDIX 17 *
REVENUE DUES FROM VILLAGES IN OTHER PROVINCES

Sl. No.	Name of Village	as paddy			as gold		as illuppai-pāl		
		kalam	kuruṇi	nāḻi	k	m	kl	ki	n
1.	Pērāyūr, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	(incomplete)			109				
2.	Ānakkuḍi, Pāṇḍi nāḍu	123	7	7	284½				
3.	Ālūr				500				
4.	I..mūr, Ganga pāḍi				500				
5.	Kāśāvūr, Nuḷambapāḍi alias Nigariliśōḻa-pāḍi	9,000							
6.	Name lost				202	13			
7.	Kūḍalūr, Nigariliśōḻapāḍi	12,842			lost				
8.	Lost								
9.	Lost								
10.	Pudukkōḍu, Malai nāḍu	lost							
11.	Lost								
12.	Lost, in Māppiśumbu kōṭṭiyāram (alias Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu)	3,164⅔		2	12½		2		
13.	......as in 12 above	117⅔	3	4	22		3	1	4
14.	......as in 12 above	183			lost		4		6
15.	Maśar, Kanakkan Kōṭṭiyāram *alias* Vikkiramaśōḻa vaḷanāḍu	458							
16.	(lost) in kanakkan Kōṭṭiyāram *alias* Vikkiramaśōḻa vaḷanāḍu	lost							
		25,889	3	5	1630	13	9	1	22

k = kaḷanju
m = manjāḍi
kl = kalam
ki = kuruṇi
n = nāḻi

*See p. 232 of the text

APPENDIX 18
VILLAGES PROVIDING TEMPLE SERVANTS*

1	2	3 Treasurer	4 Brahmachārins	5 Accountant	6 Sub-Accountant
(i) Arumoḻidēva vaḷanāḍu					
1. Mangalam	in Mangala nāḍu	1	1	—	—
2. Neḍumaṇal, alias Madanamanjari cvm*	in Nenmali nāḍu	—	2	—	—
3. Kunriyūr	"	—	1	—	—
4. Śurankuḍi	"	—	1	—	—
5. Ārāṟṟūr	"	—	1	—	—
6. Pallavan Mahādēvi cvm.	in Purangarambai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
7. Śembiyan Mahādēvi	"	—	2	—	—
8. Perumbalamarudūr	"	—	1	—	—
9. Kaḷappāl	"	—	1	—	—
10. Śingaḷāntaka cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
11. Śanga..alias Arumoḻidēva cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
12. Kēḷuvattūr	"	—	1	—	—
13. ... cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
14. Vanganagar	"	—	1	—	—
15. Kōyilarpudukkuḍi alias Kōdaṇḍarāma cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
16. Vāṇkōvanguḍi	"	—	1	—	—
17. ...	"	—	1	—	—
18. Paniyur	"	—	1	—	—
19.	"	—	1	—	—
20. Kurumba...	in Nōṭəlivēḷur kūṟṟam	—	0	—	—
21. Kūrūr	0	—	1	—	—
22. Kōnūr	In the same nāḍu	—	0	—	—
23. Arvalam	in Aravala kuṟṟam	—	2	—	—
24. 0	0	—	1	—	
25. Valivalam	in the same nāḍu	—	0	—	—
26. 0	0	—	1	—	—
27. Malinūr	in the same nāḍu	—	1	7	
28. 0		—	1	—	—
29. Arinjigai cvm.	"	—	0	—	—
30. 0	0	—	1	—	—
31. 0	in Puliyūr nāḍu	—	0	—	—
32. 0	0	—	1	—	—
33. 0	0	—	0	—	—
34. 0	0	—	2	—	—

* See p. 233 of the text

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 18 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6
35. Iran...	in the same nāḍu	—	0	—	—
36. ....alias Paramēśvara-mangalam	0	—	1	—	—
37. .... mangalam	0	—	2	—	—
38. ...	in the same nāḍu	—	0	—	—
(ii) Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu					
39.	0	—	0	—	—
40.	0	—	0	—	—
41. ... Śāṟṟur kuṟṟam	0	—	0	—	—
42. Kuḍavāyil	0	—	1	—	—
43. Nālūr	in the same vaḷanāḍu	—	0	—	—
44. ...	0	—	1	—	—
45.	in Tēvūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
46. 0		—	1	—	—
47.	in the same nāḍu	—	1	—	—
48. Kallūr, alias Śannamangalam	0	—	1	—	—
49. Marugal	0	—	1	—	—
50. 0	in...vaḷanāḍu	—	1		—
51. ... nūr alias Dānatōnga cvm.	in ...0	—	2	—	—
52. Kundavai cvm.	in Maraiyūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
(iii) Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu					
53. Taṇḍattōṭṭam, alias Mummaḍi-chōḷa cvm.	in Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu	—	1	1(2)	—
54. Tirukkuḍamukkil	in Pāmbura nāḍu	—	2	—	—
55. Ambapurattūr	in Ambar nāḍu	—	1	—	—
56. Avvai-nallūr & Pireṭṭaikuḍi	„	—	1	—	—
57. Tirumalalai	in Veṇṇāḍu	—	2	—	—
58. Kēraḷāntaka cvm.	„	—	2	1	2
59. Vaigal, alias Vānavan Mahādēvi cvm.	in Veṇṇāḍu	—	1	—	—
60. 0	in Tiraimūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
61. 0	in Tiruvaḷundūr nāḍu	—	2	—	—
62. Nallūr Pudukkuḍi	„	—	2	—	—
63. Varagūr	„	—	2	—	—
64. Akkalūr	„	—	1	—	—
65. Vilainagar alias Nittavinōda cvm.	in Vilai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
66. Perumuḷai	in Vilai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
67. Pariyalūr	in Vilai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
68. Rājēndrasimha cvm.	in Ākkūr nāḍu	—	2	—	—
69. Tirukkaḍavūr	„	—	2	—	—
70. Talaichchangāḍu	„	—	2	—	—

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 18 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6
71. Kāyākkuḍi	in Kurumbūr nāḍu	—	2	—	—
72. Taḷichchēri alias Paramaśōḻa cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
73. Ulagu ...	"	—	1	—	—
74. Kurumbapurattūr	"	—	2	—	—
75. Chōḻa...simha cvm.	in ..raiyūr nāḍu	—	2	—	—
76. Tiruviḍaikkaḷi, a dēvadāna,	in Kurumbūr nāḍu	—	—	1	2
(iv) Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu					
77. Gaṇḍarāditta cvm.	in Poygai nāḍu	—	2	—	—
78. Perumbuliyūr	in Poygai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
79. Kāmaravalli	in Mirai kūṟṟam	—	2	1	2
80. Toḷūr	in Āṇḍāttu kūṟṟam	—	1	—	—
81. Śrī Parāntaka cvm.		—	4	1	2
82. Ādanur	in Innambar nāḍu	—	1	—	—
83. Paḻaiya Vānavan Mahādēvi cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
84. Aśugūr	"	—	1	—	—
85. Śeynallūr	in Miḻalai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
86. Emanalūr alias Trailōkyamahādēvi cvm.	in Manni nāḍu	—	2	—	—
87. Vēmbaṟṟūr alias Avaninārāyaṇa cvm.	"	—	2	—	—
88. Iḍaiyaṟṟunallūr	"	—	1	—	—
89. Iḍavai	"	—	1	—	—
90. 0		—	1	—	—
91. Śrī Parāntaka cvm.	in the same nāḍu	—	1	—	—
92. Kaḍavāy-mangalam	in Naḷḷāṟṟūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
93. Mahēndra Kōṭṭūr	"	—	1	—	—
94. ..... lam alias Puliyūr	"	—	1	—	—
95. Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa cvm.	"	—	12	—	—
96. Kurukkai	in Kurukkai nāḍu	—	1	—	—
97. Kavirimangalam	"	—	1	—	—
98. Kaḍalanguḍi	"	—	1	—	—
99. Ka.....	in Tiruvali nāḍu	—	1	—	—
100. ....kkuḍi	in Tiruvindalūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
101. Tirunanriyūr	"	—	1	—	—
102. Mārpiḍugudēvi cvm.	"	—	2	—	—
103. Perunganbūr	in Vaṇṇaiyur nāḍu	—	1	—	—
104. Pāppārkuḍi	"	—	1	—	—
105. 0	0	—	1	—	—
106. ..... cvm.	in (Tirukkarumala nāḍu)	—	2	—	—
107. Tirukkarumalam in	"	—	1	—	—
108. Tēnūr	"	—	1	—	—
109. Nāngūr	in Nāngūr nāḍu	—	2	—	—

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 18 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6
110. Kunram	"	—	1	—	—
111. 0	0	—	0	—	—
112. 0	in Adigai-mangai nāḍu	—	2	—	—
113. Panchavan Mahādēvi cum.	in Koṇḍa nāḍu	—	2	—	—
114. Kumarāditya cvm.	in Neluvūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
115. Nayadira-managalam	in Piḍāvūr nāḍu	—	1	—	—
116. .... cvm. ...		—	1	—	—
117. 0	0				
118. Kshatriyasimha cvm.	in the same nāḍu	—	1	—	—
119. Tiruvekkarai	in Vaḍavali nāḍu	—	2	—	—
(v) Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu					
120. Parākramaśōḷa cvm.	in Kaḷāra-kūṟṟam	—	0	—	—
121. 0	0	—	0	—	—
122. Sangatti cvm.	in ....kkaṇḍam	—	1	—	—
(vi) Kēraḷāntaka vaḷanāḍu					
123. Rājāśraya cvm.	in Uraiyūr kūṟṟam	1	2	—	—
124. Arinjigai cvm.	in Uraiyūr kūṟṟam	—	1	—	—
125. .... taṇḍalai...		—	1	—	—
126. 0	0	—	1	—	—
127. Kaṟṟaḷi cvm.	in Taṭṭaigala nāḍu	—	1	—	—
128. Śōḷa-uttama cvm.	in Śurāḷūr kūṟṟam	—	1	—	—
(vii) Pāṇḍyakulāsani vaḷanāḍu					
129. ... dimangalam	in Viḷā nāḍu	—	2	—	—
130. Śōḷamahādēvi cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
131. Malāri, alias Śrī-kaṇḍa cvm.	"	—	2	—	—
132. Iḍaiyāṟṟu-mangalam	in Iḍaiyāṟṟu nāḍu	—	2	—	—
133. Toṇḍavai cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
134. ...	"	—	1	—	—
135. ... cvm.	"	—	1	—	—
136. Tiruppēr	in Eyi nāḍu	—	1	—	—
(viii) Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu					
137. Rājakēsari cvm.	in Nallūr nāḍu	1	3	—	—
138. Viśayālaya cvm.	in ...ndara nāḍu	—	0	—	—
139. Irumbudal alias Manukula śūḷāmaṇi-cvm.	in Āvūr kūṟṟam	—	2	—	—
140. Amuttiravalli	"	—	2	—	—
141. Jananātha cvm.	in Muḍichchō nāḍu	—	2	1	—
142. 0	0	—	1	—	—
143. Kīlpūṇḍi alias (...)	in Nenni kūṟṟam	—	2	—	—
144. Pūvanūr alias Avanikēsari cvm.	in Veṇṇi kūṟṟam	—	1	—	—
		2	178	7(1)	8

Cvm. stands for chaturvēdi mangalam
O: connotes obliterated, not decipherable

APPENDIX 19
VILLAGES PROVIDING WATCHMEN*

	Name of Assembly	Name of Nāḍu	No. of watch men
	1	2	3
(i) Arumoḻidēva Vaḷanāḍu			
1.	Vimalāchutta mangalam	in Ingā nāḍu	1
2.	Neḍumaṇal alias Madanamanjari cvm.†	in Nenmali nāḍu	1
3.	Kunriyūr	"	1
4.	Pallavan Mahādēvi cvm	in Purangarambai nāḍu	1
5.	Śembiyan Mahādēvi cvm.	"	1
6.	Perumbalamarudūr	"	1
7.	..........ngalam	"	1
8.	Śiṟṟāmūr	.... rkūṟṟam	1
9.	Kurukkai	in I ....ḍu	1
10.	Kiraiyil alias Paramēśvaramangalam	in Āla nāḍu	1
11.	Śembiyan Mahādēvi cvm.	"	1
ii) Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi Vaḷanāḍu			
12.	Tirunaraiyūr	in Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu	1
13.	Śito ..... m alias Abhimānabhūshaṇa cvm.	"	1
14.	.. .. ayakuḍi	"	1
15.	Vaṇḍaranjūr	"	1
16.	Karūr	"	1
17.	Kārkuḍi	"	1
18.	Śēṟṟūr	in Śēṟṟūr kūṟṟam	1
19.	Kuḍavāyil	"	1
20.	Nālūr	"	1
21.	Ingan	in Ingā nāḍu	1
22.	Ālattūr	in Tēvūr nāḍu	1
23.	Perungaḍambūr	in Āla nāḍu	1
24.	Pāppārkuḍi	"	1
25.	Porumboṇḍai	"	1
26.	Kōṭṭārakkuḍi	in Paṭṭinak-kūṟṟam	1
27.	Tirukkaṇṇanguḍi	"	1
28.	Kaṇṇūr alias Śannamangalam	"	1
29.	Marugal	in Marugal nāḍu	1
30.	I .... kkuḍi	"	1
31.	Pūdanūr	"	1
32.	Vaippūr (villagers)	"	1
33.	Tanjāvūr („)	"	1
34.	Adityappimangalam	in Tiruvārūr kūṟṟam	1
35.	Rājamalla cvm.	in Vēḷa nāḍu	1

* See p. 233 of the text

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 19 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3
36. Perumbūr	„	1
37. Pugalōgamāṇikka cvm.	in Panaiyūr nāḍu	1
iii) Uyyakkoṇḍān Vaḷanāḍu		
38. Taṇḍattōṭṭam alias Mummaḍiśōḻa cvm.	in Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu	1
39. Pāmburam	in Pāmbura nāḍu	1
40. Kaḍaikkuḍi	„	1
41. Naṭṭavārūr (villagers)	„	1
42. Adiyaraiyakurumbal (villagers)	in Ambar nāḍu	1
43. Nallaḻundūr (villagers)	„	1
44. Marudāvūr (villagers)	in Karugal nāḍu	1
45. Tirumaḻalai	in Vēṇ nāḍu	1
46. Vaigal alias Vānavan Mahādēvi cvm.	„	1
47. Tirunallam	„	1
48. Karuviḷi (villagers)	„	1
49. Vayalūr (villagers)	„	1
50. Śāttanūr	in Tiraimūr nāḍu	1
51. Ākkalūr	in Tiruvaḻundūr nāḍu	1
52. Āyirkāḍu (villagers)	„	1
53. Vilainagar alias Nittavinōda cvm.	in Vilai nāḍu	1
54. Pariyālūr	„	1
55. Perumalai	„	1
56. Tiraimūr (villagers)	„	1
57. Rājēndrasimha cvm.	in Ākkūr nāḍu	1
58. Tirukkaḍavūr	„	1
59. Talaichchangāḍu	„	1
60. Taḷichchēri alias Parākrama śōḻa cvm.	in Kurumbūr nāḍu	1
61. Iraiyanśēri	„	1
62. Tiruviḍaikkaḻi, a dēvadāna	„	1
63. Neḍungāḍu (villagers)	„	1
iv) Rājēndrasimha Vaḷanāḍu		
64. Gaṇḍarāditta cvm.	in Poygai nāḍu	1
65. Perumbuliyūr	„	1
66. Pārthiva-śēkhara cvm.	in Miḻai kūṟṟam	1
67. Kavaiyattalai alias Paṇḍita-śōḻa cvm.	in Āṇḍāṭṭuk kuṟṟam	1
68. Śattimangalam (villagers of)	„	1
69. Paḻaiya Vānavanmahādēvi cvm.	in Innambar nāḍu	1
70. Aśugūr	„	1
71. Kōṭṭaiyūr	„	1
72. Ēr alias Mummaḍiśōḻa mangalam (inhabitants of)	„	1
73. Śrī Parāntaka cvm.	„	2

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 19 *(Contd.)*

	1	2	3
74. Śeyānallūr	in Miḻalai nāḍu	1	
75. Emanallūr alias Trailōkyamahādēvi cvm.	in Manni nāḍu	1	
76. Vēmbaṟṟūr *alias* Avaninārāyaṇa cvm.	"	1	
77. Iḍavai	in Śama nāḍu	1	
78. Panangāḍu	"	1	
79. Kāṭṭūr	in Viḷattur naḍu	1	
80. 0.....	in Kār nāḍu	1	
81. Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa cvm., a *taniyūr*	in Nallāṟṟūr nāḍu	6	
82. Kurukkai	in Kurukkai nāḍu	1	
83. Kaviri mangalam	"	1	
84. Kaṭṭiyūr brahmadēyam	"	1	
85. Varagūr	"	1	
86. Kaḍalanguḍi	"	1	
87. Mallikkuḍi	in Tiruvali nāḍu	1	
88. Tiruvali	"	1	
89.	in Tiruvindalūr nāḍu	1	
90. Tirunanriyūr	"	1	
91. Mārpiḍugudēvi cvm.	"	1	
92. Kanjaranagar (villagers)	"	1	
93. Perunganbūr	in Veṇṇaiyūr nāḍu	1	
94. Mādulavēḷūr	"	1	
95. ... thūr	"	1	
96. Vellūr	"	1	
97. Śōdiyakkuḍi	"	1	
98. Udayāditya cvm.	"	1	
99. Tirukkaḻumalam	"	1	
100. Tēnūr	"	1	
101. Nāngūr	in Nāngūr nāḍu	2	
102. Kunram	"	1	
103. Marudūr	"	1	
104. Peruntoṭṭam	in Adigaimangai nāḍu	2	
105. Panchavan Mahādēvi cvm.	in Koṇḍā nāḍu	2	
106. Kumarāditya cvm.	in Neluvūr nāḍu	1	
107. Nayadiramangalam	in Piḍāvūr nāḍu	1	
108. Jayaṇgoṇḍasōḻa cvm.	in Vēśālippāḍi	1	
109. Vaḷavan Mahādēvi cvm.	in Irungōḷapāḍi	1	
v) Rājāsraya Vaḷanāḍu			
110. Mahīndramangalam	in Mīmalai nāḍu	1	
111. Tiruveḷḷarai	in Vaḍavali nāḍu	2	
112. Perumaḻudūr,	in Kīḻ-pālāru, Pāchchil kūṟṟam	2	

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 19 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3
vi) Kēraḷāntaka Vaḷanāḍu		
113. Rājāśraya cvm.	in Uraiyūr kūṟṟam	2
114. Arinjigai cvm.	"	1
115. Vayalūr (villagers)	"	1
116. Karuppūr (villagers)	"	1
vii) Pāṇḍyakulāsani Vaḷanāḍu		
117. ..... taṇḍalai	in Mīkōṭṭa nāḍu	1
118. Uttamaśili cvm.	in Viḷā nāḍu	1
119. Śōḻamahādēvi cvm.	"	1
120. Iḍayāṟṟu mangalam	in Iḍaiyāṟṟu nāḍu	1
viii) Nityavinōda Vaḷanāḍu		
121. Nallūr alias Panchavan mahādēvi cvm.	in Nallūr nāḍu	1
122. Kundavai nallūr (villagers)	in Karambai nāḍu	1
123. Perumiḷaṭṭūr (villagers)	in Kiḷār kūṟṟam	1
124. Irumbudal alias Manukulaśūḷāmaṇi cvm.	in Āvūr kūṟṟam	1
125. Viḷaṭṭūr (villagers)	"	1
126. Jananātha cvm.	in Muḍichchō nāḍu	1
127. Śiṟṟinavāḷ alias Paramēśvara cvm.	"	1
128. Kī ..... pūṇḍi alias Olōkamahādēvi cvm.	in Veṇṇi kūṟṟam	1
129. Pūvanūr *alias* Avanikēśari cvm	"	1
130. Perunangai mangalam	"	1
131. Śiṟṟambar	in Pāmbuni kūṟṟam	1

†cvm. chaturvēdi-maṇgalam — Total 143

APPENDIX 20

TAḶIP–PEṆDIR*

SOUTH STREET, SOUTH ROW

No. of the House	Running Total	Name of the Lady	Name of the Temple	Name of the Village
1	2	3	4	5
1.	1	Śēramangai	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
2.	2	Iraṇamukharāṇi	"	"
3.	3	Udāram	"	"
4.	4	Paṭṭāḷi	"	"
5.	5	Eḍuttapādam	"	"
6.	6	Śōḻakulasundari	"	"
7.	7	Ēkavīri	"	"
8.	8	Rājakēsari	Tirukkārōṇam	Nāgapaṭṭinam
9.	9	Tēśichchi	Kōyil-taḷi	"
10.	10	Periya-Teśichchi	"	"
11.	11	Vichchādiri	Tirukkārōṇam	"
12.	12	Maraikkāḍu	"	"
13.	13	Amari	Naḍuvil-taḷi	"
14.	14	Tiruvaiyāru		Rājakēsarinallūr
15.	15	Tillai-Aḻagi	Vikrama Vijaya Īśvaram	Jananātha-Puram
16.	16	Echchumaṇḍai	"	"
17.	17	Parāmi	Pagavati śēri (a quarter)	"
18.	18	Tillaikkaraiśu		Tiruviḍaimarudil
19.	19	Aḻagi		"
20.	20	Śaduri		"
21.	21	Maduravāśagi		"
22.	22	Mādēvaḍigaḷ		"
23.	23	(name damaged)		"
24.	24	Iravikulamāṇikkam	Kōmakkambhīśvarar t.	
25.	25	Ārūr	Muḷḷūr Nakkan taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
26.	26	Vīrāṇi	Vaḍa taḷi	"
27.	27	Tennavan Mādēvi	"	"
28.	28	Tiruvaiyāru	(a quarter)	Avaninārāyaṇapuram
29.	29	Mādēvaḍigaḷ	Ten taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
30.	30	Pugaḻi	Śrī Taḷi Viṇṇagar	Ārapuram
31.	31	Pānjādi	Tigaipirāṭṭi Īśvarar t.	"
32.	32	Karaṇavichchādiri	"	"
33.	33	Śangi	Eriyūr Nāṭṭuttaḷi	Tanjāvūr
34.	34	Taraṇi	"	"
35.	35	Śeṭṭi	"	"

* See p. 234 of the text

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
36.	36	Aravam	"	"
37.	37	Nakkam	"	"
38.	38	Śīr Uḍaiyāḷ	Periya-taḷichchēri	Tiruvārūr
39.	39	Paravai	Brahmīśvarar t.	"
40.	40	Maḻalaich-chilambu	Periya-taḷich-chēri	"
41.	41	Ārāmudu	Tiru-vara-neri	"
42.	42	Śikhaṇḍi	Arumoḻi Īśvarar t.	"
43.	43	Parānderumān	Ulagīśvarar t.	"
44.	44	Nārāyani	Tiru-vara-neri	"
45.	45	Aravam	"	"
46.	46	Śōdiviḷakku	Brahmīśvarar t.	"
47.	47	Tigaich-chuḍar	Ulagīśvarar t.	"
48.	48	Āli	Brahmīśvarar t.	"
49.	49	Śikhaṇḍi	Ten-taḷi	Mattai
50.	50	Peṟṟatiru		"
51.	51	Vīra-śōḻi	Tanjai Mā-maṇik-kōyil	Tanjāvūr
52.	52	Tiruvālangāḍi		Śīkaṇḍapuram
53.	53	(name lost)		Parāntakapuram
54.	54	Uttamadāni		"
55.	55	(name lost)	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	Niyamam
56.	56	Veṇkāḍu	"	"
57.	57	Kūttāḍi	"	"
58.	58	Śōḻaśūḷāmaṇi	"	"
59.	59	Pūngāvi		Āyirattaḷi (Niyamam)
60.	60	Nāñjūri	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	"
61.	61	Devi		"
62.	62	Nangūri	Tiru Māhālam t.	Ambar
63.	63	Rājarāji	"	"
64.	64	Ati māṇi	"	"
65.	65	Udayam	Avani Nārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar	"
66.	66	Kāmakkōḍi	Tiru Māhāḷam	Ambar
67.	67	Nichchāḷ	Mudubagavar taḷi	"
68.	68	Kuppai	Tiruviḷangōyil	Kaḍambūr
69.	69	Vīdi Viḍangi	"	"
70.	70	Nakkam (Jr)	"	"
71.	71	Nakkam (Sr)	"	"
72.	72	Dharaṇi Vārāhi	Iṭṭāchchi Īśvarar t.	"
73.	73	Mādēvi		Tirumaraikkāḍu
74.	74	Ammaḷi		Viḍayapuram
75.	75	.... tappagai		Vēḷūr

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
76.	76	Tirunīlakaṇṭhi		Nayadirapuram
77.	77	Mānāb(h)araṇi		Vīrapuram
78.	78	Peṟṟa-tiru	Tiru-Mēṟṟaḷi	Pāchchil
79.	79	Śōlam	Tiruvāchchirāmam	"
80.	80	Śenguḷam	Tiru Mēṟṟaḷi	"
81.	81	(Name lost)		Vīrapuram
82.	82	Porkkēśi		Tirukkōkambudūr
83.	83	Arāyiram		"
84.	84	Tillaikkūtti		Karpagadānipuram
85.	85	Ārūr		"
86.	86	Śāmuṇḍi		"
87.	87	Ab(h)ayam		Taḷich-chaṭṭānguḍi
88.	88	Tirumāhāḷam	Brahmakūṭṭam	Tanjāvūr
89.	89	Pichchai	"	"
90.	90	Tiruvaḍigaḷ		Pallava-Nāraṇa-puram
91.	91	Śāttam		Tirumaraikkāḍu
92.	92	Tirumalai		"
		SOUTH SHEET, NORTH ROW		
1.	93	Vikkiramatongi	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
2.	94	Pugaḷi	"	"
3.	95	Māṇikkam		Miraiyil
4.	96	Mādēvi	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
5.	97	Tirumūlaṭṭānam	"	"
6.	98	Ārūr	Brahmīśvarar t.	"
7.	99	Kaṇḍiyūr	Periya taḷich chēri (a quarter)	"
8.	100	Āchcham	Ulagīśvarar t.	"
9.	101	Aravam	Tiru-vara-neri	"
10.	102	Karambiyam	"	"
11.	103	Kaṇḍiyūr	Periya-taḷich-chēri (a quarter)	"
12.	104	Vīdiviḍangi	"	"
13.	105	Innilavanji	Avani Nārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar	Ambar
14.	106	Maḻalaich-chilambu	"	"
15.	107	Sembon	Tirumāhāḷam t.	"
16.	108	......		Tiruvaiyāru
17.	109	Aiyāru		"
18.	110	Tiruveṇṇāval		"

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
19.	111	Umai	Tiruvāchchirāmam	Pāchchil
20.	112	Peṟṟatiru	Tentaḷi	Paḻaiyāru
21.	113	Śīr-Uḍaiyāḷ (Jr.)		Kaḷḷaguḍi
22.	114	Śīr-Uḍaiyāḷ (Sr.)		"
23.	115	Olōkamātā		Taḷich-chaṭṭānguḍi
24.	116	Tiru		Pagavati Śēri (a quarter of) Janāthapuram
25.	117	Mādēvi	Tanjai-Mā-maṇik-kōyil	Tanjāvūr
26.	118	Kāḷi		Talai-Ālangāḍu
27.	119	Tiruppūvanam	Śrī Taḷi Viṇṇagar	Ārapuram
28.	120	Marudamāṇikkam		Karpagadānipuram
29.	121	Karpagamāṇikkam		"
30.	122	Kayilāyam	Tiru Amalīśvarar t.	Nannilam
31.	123	Āchcham	of Āyirattaḷi	Niyamam
32.	124	Parānderumān	Tiru Mēṟṟaḷi t.	Pāchchil
33.	125	Śōlakulasundari	Vaḍa taḷi	Palaiyāru
34.	126	Āḍavallāḷ	Pagaiviḍai Īśvaram	Paluvūr
35.	127	Iḷankōyil	Nandi Īśvarar t.	Kaḍambūr
36.	128	Arivāṭṭi	Mahādēvi Īśvarar t.	
37.	129	Mādēvaḍigal	Eriyūr Nāṭṭu taḷi	Tanjāvūr
38.	130	Ponnālamāndāḷ	Vikrama Vijaya Īśvarar t.	Jananāthapuram
39.	131	Kārāyil	Śrīpūdi Viṇṇagar	Pāmbuni
40.	132	Tiruvaiyāru	Lost	Lost
41.	133	Aiyāru		Āyirattaḷi
42.	134	Peṟṟamai	Niraimaḍi Īśvarar	
43.	135	Māri		Tirumaṟaikkāḍu
44.	136	Tiru	Vikrama Vijaya Īśvarar t.	Jananāthapuram
45.	137	Nandi Erumān	"	"
46.	138	Tillaikkaraśu	Tiruvamalīśvarar t.	Pāchchil
47.	139	Umai	Tiruvāchchirāmam	"
48.	140	Śīriyāḷ	Mahādēvi Īśvarar t.	
49.	141	Achcham		Tiruviḍaimarudil
50.	142	Kāḍugāḷ		"
51.	143	Panchavan Mādēvi		"
52.	144	Śikaṇḍi		"
53.	145	Kallarai		"
54.	146	Sittiravalli	Śrī taḷi viṇṇagar	Ārapuram
55.	147	Nallūr	Nagaḷangi Īśvarar t.	"

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
56.	148	Peruvaḻi	"	"
57.	149	Śemāni	Tiruviḷangōyil	Kaḍambūr
58.	150	Kōnāḍi	"	"
59.	151	Nambugāri	Tiru-vara-neri-Īśvaram	Tiruvārūr
60.	152	Tirumūlattānam	Periya-taḷich-chēri	"
61.	153	Śomanādi	Brahmīśvarar t.	"
62.	154	Irāmi	Periya-taḷich-chēri	"
63.	155	Echchumaṇḍai	Brahmīśvarar t.	"
64.	156	Śundaraśōḻi	Tirumaṇḍaḷi	"
65.	157	Pandal	Ulagīśvarar t.	"
66.	158	Kāmi	Avani Nārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar	Ambar
67.	159	Āśārapanjari	"	"
68.	160	Ēkavīri	Mudubagavar taḷi	"
69.	161	(Name lost)	"	"
70.	162	Śangam	"	"
71.	163	Kaṇḍam		Tiruvaiyāru
72.	164	Pāvai		"
73.	165	Tutti	Avaniya-maradapa-puram a part of Paluvūr	
74.	166	Arikulakēsari	Pagai viḍai Īśvarar t.	"
75.	167	Kulamān	Pugaḻmāḍi Isvarar t.	
76.	168	Karumāṇikkam	"	
77.	169	Nagarattāḷ		Panaiyachchēri
78.	170	Śandiram	Āyirattaḷi (of)	Niyamam
79.	171	Vaḍavāyil	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	"
80.	172	Parāndērumān	Nripakēsari Īśvarar t.	"
81.	173	Tiruvēngaḍam	Chandiramallīśvarar t.	"
82.	174	Sarpadēvi	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	"
83.	175	Āmāttūr	Tirumēṟṟaḷi	Nannilam
84.	176	Udāri		Kaviripūmpattinam
85.	177	Śīlaśūḷāmaṇi	Araiyēru-mān-taḷi	Paḷaiyāru
86.	178	Vikkiramādittī		Avani Nārāyaṇapuram (of) Paḻaiyāru
87.	179	Tillainiraindāḷ		"
88.	180	Nayana-valli	Vaḍa taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
89.	181	Peṟṟatiru	Vaḍa taḷi	"
90.	182	Madana valli	Mallīśvarar t.	Āyirattaḷi
91.	183	Eḍuttapādam		Karuppūr
92.	184	Mīnavan mādēvi		Vīrapuram

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
		SOUTH ROW, NORTH STREET		
1.	185	Mūvargaṇḍi	Brahmīśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
2.	186	Śīruḍaiyāḷ	Tirukkārōṇam	Nāgapaṭṭinam
3.	187	Tiru	Nigaḷangi Īśvarar t.	Ārapuram
4.	188	Peṟṟatiru	Guṇavatīśvarar t.	Kōṭṭūr
5.	189	Pāl	Śrīpūdi Viṇṇagar	Pāmbuni
6.	190	Karpagadāni		Karpagadānipuram
7.	191	Pandal	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
8.	192	(Name lost)	"	"
9.	193	Ambalam		Taḷich-chaṭṭānguḍi
10.	194	Vīrāyachchilai	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
11.	195	Anavaratasundari		Āyirattaḷi
12.	196	Rājaśūḷāmaṇi		"
13.	197	Araneri		Nayadirapuram
14.	198	Paṭṭam		Āyirattaḷi
15.	199	Iḷangā		"
16.	200	Mōḍi	Arumoḻi Īśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
17.	201	Karuvūr		"
18.	202	Tiruvānaikkāvi	Parāntaka Īśvarar t.	
19.	203	Aravam		Tiruvaiyaru
20.	204	Sundari	Panchavan Mādēvi Īśvarar t.	Kōṭṭur
21.	205	Nambāṇḍi	"	"
22.	206	Umai	"	"
23.	207	Tiṭṭaichchēri	"	"
24.	208	Umai	"	"
25.	209	Śittira Valli	Tiru-vara-neri Iśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
26.	210	Pichchai		Ayirattaḷi
27.	211	Peṟṟatiru	Pugaḻīśvarar t.	Viḍaiyapuram
28.	212	Śikaṇḍi	Tirumaṇḍaḷi	Tiruvārūr
29.	213	Kundavai	"	"
30.	214	Pākkāri	Mallīśvarar t.	Āyirattaḷi
31.	215	Pon	Brahmīśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
32.	216	Porkkumaran	Vikrama Vijaya Īsvarar t.	Jananāthapuram
33.	217	Śōmakōn	Parāntaka Īśvarar t.	
34.	218	Ēkaviri	Arumoḻi Īśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
35.	219	Dēvi		Āyirattaḷi
36.	220	Tiruvaḍigaḷ		"

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
37.	221	„	Kariya..... ...	„
38.	222	Kaṇḍarāchchi		Tiruvēdiguḍi
39.	223	Kulamāṇikkam		„
40.	224	(Name lost)		Āyirattaḷi
41.	225	Vēmbi		„
42.	226	Porkēśi	Niraimaḍi Īśvarar t.	
43.	227	Orriyūr		Tiruch-chōṟṟut-turai
44.	228	(Name lost)		Tirumaraikkāḍu
45.	229	Śangāṇi	Tirumēṟṟali	Nannilam
46.	230	Eri	Tiru Amalīśvarar t.	„
47.	231	Pūvanam		Uttamadānipuram
48.	232	Aḍigaḷ		Āyirattaḷi of Niyamam
49.	233	Nirāṇi Pavaḻakkunru	Aṟai-ērumān-taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
50.	234	Arumoḻi	„	Paḻaiyāru
51.	235	Achcham (Sr.)	Ten taḷi	„
52.	236	Achcham (Jr.)	„	„
53.	237	Amudam	Vaḍa taḷi	„
54.	238	Śūḷāmaṇi	„	„
55.	239	Ēkavīri	„	„
56.	240	Vīrāṇi	Muḷḷūr Nakkan taḷi	„
57.	241	Orunpanai	„	„
58.	242	Kaṇṇaradēvi		Koṟṟamangalam
59.	243	Kaṇavadi		Tiruttengūr
60.	244	Eṭṭi		Śellūr
61.	245	Ambalakkūtti		Tiruvaiyāru
62.	246	Anantam	Śēnamugam (cantonment)	Nāgapaṭṭinam
63.	247	Vaḻuvānilai	Tanjai Mā-maṇik-kōyil	Tanjāvūr
64.	248	Śīdēvi	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	
65.	249	Eḻuvaṇai		Parāntakapuram
66.	250	Pon		Tiruvaiyāru
67.	251	Paḻuvūr	Pagai viḍai Īśvarar t.	Paḻuvūr
68.	252	Śivadēvi	Iṭṭāchchi Īśvarar t.	Kaḍambūr
69.	253	Śīkurugūr	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
70.	254	Śangāṇi	Tiru-mēṟṟaḷi	Nannilam
71.	255	Śembiyan Mādēvi		Tiruviḍaimarudil
72.	256	Kāmamōgi	Jayabhīma-taḷi	Tanjāvūr
73.	257	Ponnāli	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
74.	258	Vīraśikhāmaṇi	Nripakēsari Īśvarar t.	Niyamam
75.	259	Ārūr	Śrīpūdi Viṇṇagar	Pāmbuni
76.	260	Vīrab(h)ōgi		Talaiyālangāḍu

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
77.	261	Ponnambalaṁ		
78.	262	Oruppānai	Vaḍa taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
79.	263	Umai	Tiru Vilangōyil	Kaḍambūr
80.	264	Arangam		Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam
81.	265	Perratiru	Mudubagavar taḷi	Ambar
82.	266	Rājarāji		Tiruviḍaimarudil
83.	267	Mūnji	Tiruvamalīśvaram	Pāchchil
84.	268	Porkāḷi	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
85.	269	Tigaimāṇikkam	Ulgīśvarar t.	"
86.	270	Śeyyāpādam	Mudubagavar Taḷi	Ambar
87.	271	Aiyāḷ		Virāḷūr
88.	272	Nambugamari	Naduvil-taḷich-chēri	of Nāgapaṭṭinam
89	273	Araiyam	Kōmakkambhīśvarar t.	
90.	274	Nittangai	Tirumaṇḍaḷi	Tiruvārūr
91.	275	Śiriya Umai	Parāntaka Īśvarar t.	
92.	276	Kāmamōgi	Jayabhīma-taḷi	Tanjāvūr
93.	277	Tiruvaragu	Tanjai Mā-maṇik-kōyil	"
94.	278	Śeyyā Śōlam		Tirukkoḷḷambudūr
95.	279	Tirukkuravi		Kaḍambūr
		NORTH STREET, NORTH ROW		
1.	280	Irāmi	Tirukkārōṇam	Nāgapaṭṭinam
2.	281	Karrali	"	"
3.	282	Kaṇṇam	"	"
4.	283	Uttama Sundari	Panchavan Mahādēvi Iśvaram	Kōṭṭūr
5.	284	Kunjara Malli	Avanikēsari Īśvaram	Anḍaḷi
6.	285	Śeyyāpādam		Karpagadānipuram
7.	286	Śiriya Aravam	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
8.	287	Śilāśūḷāmaṇi	Vaḍa taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
9.	288	Ananti		Vēḷūr
10.	289	Porkāḷi	Tirupādaḷi Īśvarar t.	Pāmbuṇi
11.	290	Āra-amudu		Uttamadānipuram
12.	291	Veṇkādu		Āyirattaḷi
13.	292	Porkkōyil-tillai-aḻagi		"
14.	293	Okkūri		Uttamadānipuram
15.	294	Aśangi		Āyirattaḷi
16.	295	Pugalōkamāṇikkam	Arumoḻi Īśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
17.	296	Dēvaḍi	Periya-taḷich-chēri	"
18:	297	Kūttādi	Guṇavati Īśvarar t.	Kōṭṭūr

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
19.	298	Name lost	Mahādēvi Īśvarar t.	
20.	299	Pākkāri		Taḷich-chaṭṭānguḍi
21.	300	Eraṇadēvi	Panchavan Mahādēvi Iśvarar t.	Kōṭṭūr
22.	301	Nambinangai	Tiruppugaḻi Īśvarar t.	Vaḍaiyapuram
23.	302	Śīpaṭṭāḷi	Panchavan Mahādēvi Īśvarar t.	Kōṭṭūr
24.	303	Kunjaramalli	"	"
25.	304	Kārāyil	Pugaḻīśvarar t.	Vaḍaiyapuram
26.	305	Kāmuttiri	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
27.	306	Kariya Aravam		Nayadirapuram
28.	307	Nambiyamai	Avaninārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar	Ambar
29.	308	Karuvūr	Tirumaṇḍaḷi Íśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
30.	309	Śemban	Tirumāhāḷam	Ambar
31.	310	Porchcheyyāḷ	Mallīśvarar t.	Āyirattaḷi
32.	311	Paṭṭatiru	Vikrama Vijaya Īśvarar t.	Jananāthapuram
33.	312	Vaṇkāḍu		Tiruviḍaimarudil
34.	313	Murungai	Nigaḻangi Īśvarar t.	Ārapuram
35.	314	Oṟṟiyūr		Āyirattaḷi
36.	315	Āḍal-aḻagi		"
37.	316	Kumāraḍi		"
38.	317	Nangāḷi		Tiruvēdiguḍi
39.	318	Tirubuvanamādēvi	Parāntaka-Īśvarar t.	
40.	319	Irāmi		Āṟṟuttali
41.	320	Śīr-Uḍai-kalal	Naraimadi Īśvarar t.	
42.	321	Maraikkāḍu		Tiruchchōṟṟutturai
43.	322	Umai		Tirukkoḷḷambudūr
44.	323	Ilavam	Tiruvamalīśvarar t.	Nannilam
45.	324	Oṟṟiyūr	Tirumēṟṟaḷi	"
46.	325	Śōlamādēvi	Tiruvamalisvarar t.	"
47.	326	Āḍavallāḷ		Āyirattaḷi of Niyamam
48.	327	Nambiyamai	Śandiravalli Īśvarar t.	"
49.	328	Amudam	Arai-ērumān taḷi	Paḻaiyāru
50.	329	Śīdēvi	Mudubagavar taḷi	Ambar
51.	330	Piṭṭi	Ten taḻi	Paḻaiyāru
52.	331	Irāmi	Vaḍa taḷi	"
53.	332	Śingāḍi	"	"
54.	333	Śīlaśūḷāmaṇi	"	"
55.	334	Kōyil	Sangīśvarar t.	"

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 20 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5
56.	335	Malaiyamān	Muḷḷūr Nakkan taḷi	
57.	336	Aiyāru		Avani Nārāyaṇapuram
58.	337	Nakkam		Tirunēyttānam
59.	338	Perramai		Tiruttengūr
60.	339	Palippili	Tiruvamalīśvarar t.	Nannilam
61.	340	Paṭṭāli	Ulgīśvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
62.	341	Manram Uḍaiyāḷ	Eriyūr-nāṭṭut-taḷi	Tanjāvūr
63.	342	Kuppai		Vēḷūr
64.	343	Āditti	Pagaiviḍai Iśvarar t.	Paluvūr
65.	344	Nakkam	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	Niyamam
66.	345	Villavan Mādēvi	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
67.	346	Eḍuttapādam	Mudubagavar taḷi	Ambar
68.	347	Pūmi (Bhūmi)	Nandīśvarar t.	Kaḍambūr
69.	348	Tiruvaḍigaḷ		Tiruvaiyāru
70.	349	Tūdavi	Brahmakūṭṭam	Tanjāvūr
71.	350	Malalaich-chilambu		Kanjananagaram
72.	351	Perratiru		Avani-amardapa-puram
73.	352	Pungalōgamānikkam	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvarar t.	Tiruvaiyāru
74.	353	Sundari	Śrī Pūdi Viṇṇagar	Pāmbuṇi
75.	354	Mādēvi	Tirukkāroṇam	Nāgappaṭṭinam
76.	355	Ponnambalam		Kiḷḷiguḍi
77.	356	Lost		Tiruvidaimarudil
78.	357	Vēmbi	Periya-taḷich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
79.	358	Pugalōga Māṇikkam		Tiruviḍai marudil
80.	359	Karaikkāl		”
81.	360	Vīra Śōli	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	Niyamam
82.	361	Mūttāḷ		Kāvērippūm-paṭṭinam
83.	362	Śandirasēgari	Arikulakēsari Īśvarar t.	Niyamam
84.	363	Pūmi		Āyirattaḷi of Niyamam
85.	364	Sundari		Kiḷḷiguḍi
86.	365	Aiyāru		Miraiyil
87.	366	”	Nandīśvaram	Kaḍambūr
88.	367	Arumoli		Tiruvaiyāru
89.	368	Śandai	Kōmakkambhīśvaram	
90.	369	Nallūr	Brahma Kūṭṭam	Tanjāvūr
91.	370	Parānderumān	Parāntaka Īśvaram	
92.	371	Kaṇavadi		Tiruppaḷanam
93.	372	Kuḍittāngi	Tiruppādaḷi Īśvaram	Pāmbuṇi
94.	373	Śōladēvi		Tirukkoḷḷambudūr
95.	374	Tūngānai	Iṭṭāchchi Īśvarar t.	Kaḍambūr
96.	375	Perramai	Brahmakūṭṭam	Tanjāvūr

RAJARAJESVARAM

1.	376	Lost	Lost	Lost
2.	377	Nittasundari		,,
3.	378	Paṭṭāḷi		Tirunēyttānam
4.	379	Karōṇam		Ārapuram
5.	380	Attanappon		Āyirattaḷi
6.	381	Malalaich-chilambu	Avanikēsari Īśvarar t.	Aṇḍaḷi
7.	382	Tigai-māṇikkam	,,	,,
8.	383	Kulamāṇikkam	,,	,,
9.	384	Tāyam		Miraiyil
10.	385	Arangam		,,
11.	386	Seyya vāimaṇi	Puraiyachchēri	
12.	387	Ponmālai	Mahādēvi	Isvarar t.
13.	388	Ponnambalam		Tiruvēdiguḍi
14.	389	Nambāṇḍi		Talaiyālangāḍu
15.	390	Maṇḍai		Tangattār taḷi
16.	391	Nīlam		Manninagaram
17.	392	Paṭṭāḷi		Vayalūr
18.	393	Śuṇangai		,,
19.	394	Umai		,,
20.	395	Porkēśi	Avanikēsari Īśvarar t.	Paluvūr
21.	396	Vānavan Mahādēvi	Pagaiviḍai Īśvarar t.	,,
22.	397	Ariyāḷ		
23.	398	Arinji		Pandananallur
24.	399	Pūvaṇam		Tiruvaiyāru
25.	400	Panchavan Mahādēvi	Guṇavati Īśvarar t.	Kōṭṭūr

APPENDIX 21
LIST OF TEMPLES OFFERING TAḶIPPEṆḌIR*

Sl. No.	Place	Name of Temple	No. of Taḷippeṇḍir
1	2	3	4
1.	Ārapuram	1. Śrītaḷi Viṇṇagar	3
		2. Nigaḻangi Īśvarar temple	4
		3. Tigaipirāṭṭi Īśvarar temple	2
2.	Ambar	4. Tirumāgālam temple	6
		5. Avani-Nārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar	6
		6. Mudubagavar taḷi	8
3.	Āyirattaḷi	7. Mallīśvarar temple	3
4.	Andaḷi	8. Avani Kēsari Īṣvarar temple	4
5.	Jananāthapuram	9. Vikrama Vijaya Īśvarar temple	7
6.	Kaḍambūr	10. Tiru Iḷamkōyil	7
		11. Iṭṭāchchi Īśvarar temple	3
		12. Nandi Īśvarar temple	3
7.	Kōṭṭūr	13. Guṇavati Īśvarar temple	3
		14. Panchavan Mahādēvi Īśvarar temple	9
8.	Nāgapaṭṭinam	15. Tirukkārōnam Uḍaiyār temple	8
		16. Kōyil taḷi	2
		17. Naḍuvil taḷi	1
9.	Niyamam	18. Arikulakēsari Īśvarar temple	10
		19. Nripakēsari Īśvarar temple	2
		20. Chandramallīśvarar temple	2
10.	Nannilam	21. Tiru Amalīśvarar temple	5
		22. Tiru Mēṟṟaḷi	4
11.	Maṭṭai	23. Ten taḷi	1
12.	Paḻaiyāru	24. Muḷḷūr Nakkan taḷi	4
		25. Vaḍa taḷi	13
		26. Ten taḷi	5
		27. Arai Ērumān taḷi	4
		28. Śangīśvarar temple	1
13.	Pāchchil	29. Tiru Mēṟṟaḷi	3
		30. Tiru Vāchchirāmam	3
		31. Tiru-Amalīśvaram	2
14.	Paḻuvūr (Avani-Amardapapuram)	32. Pagaiviḍai Īśvaram	6
		33. Avani Kēsari Īśvarar temple	1
15.	Pāmbuṇi	34. Śrīpūdi Viṇṇagar	3
		35. Tiruppāḍali Īśvarar temple	3
16.	Tanjāvūr	36. Eriyūr Nāṭṭu taḷi	7
		37. Tanjai Mā maṇik-kōyil	4
		38. Jayabhīma taḷi	2
		39. Brahma-kūṭṭam temple	5

* See p. 234 of the text

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 21 *(Contd.)*

1	2	3	4
17.	Tengaṭṭūr	40. Tirut-tengūr taḷi	1
18.	Tiruvaiyāru	41. Lōkamahādēvi Īśvarar temple	11
19.	Tiruvārūr	42. Brahmīśvarar temple	8
		43. Arumoḻi Īśvarar temple	4
		44. Ulagīśvarar temple	6
		45. Tiruvaraneri temple	7
		46. Tiru Maṇḍaḷi	5
20.	Viḍaiyapuram	47. Tiru-Pugaḻīśvarar temple	2
	Location not given	48. Kōmakaṃbhīśvarar temple	3
	"	49. Nirai Māḍi Īśvarar temple	3
	"	50. Mahādēvi Īśvarar temple	4
	"	51. Pugaḻmāḍi Īśvarar temple	2
	"	52. Parantaka Īśvarar temple	5
			230

APPENDIX 21A
LIST OF VILLAGES THAT OFFERED TAḶIPPEṆḌIR*

Name of village	No. of women
Ārapuram	1
Āṟṟuttaḷi	1
Jananāthapuram (Bhagavati Śēri)	7
Kaḍambūr	1
Kānjananagaram	1
Karpagadānipuram	7
Karuppūr	1
Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam	3
Kiḷḷiguḍi	4
Koṟṟamangalam	1
Manninagaram	1
Mattai	1
Miraiyil	4
Nāgapaṭṭinam	
(Śēna-mugam)	1
(Naḍuvil-taḷich-chēri)	1
Nayadirapuram	3
Niyamam (Āyirattaḷi)	25
Paḻaiyāru (Avani-Nārāyaṇapuram)	4
Paḻuvūr (Avani-Mardapapuram)	1
Pallava Nārāyaṇapuram	1
Pandananallūr	1
Parāntakapuram	3
Rājakēsarinallūr	1
Śīkaṇḍapuram	1
Śellūr	1
Talaiyālangāḍu	5
Taḷichchaṭṭānguḍi	4
Tiruchchōṟṟutturai	2
Tirukkōkambadūr	4
Tirukkoḷḷambadūr	1
Tirumàraikkāḍu	5
Tiruneyttānam	2
Tiruppaḻanam	1
Tiruttengūr	2
Tiruvaiyāru	11
Tiruvārūr	1
Tiruvārūr (Periya-taḷich-chēri)	20
Tiruvēdiguḍi	4
Tiruviḍaimarudil	12

* See p. 234 of the text

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 21A *(Contd.)*

Name of village	No. of women
Uttamadānipuram	3
Vayalūr	3
Vēḷūr	3
Viḍayapuram	2
Virāḷūr	1
Vīrapuram	3
Not known (Suburb: Puaraichchēri)	1
Not known (Suburb: Panayachchēri)	1
Total	167

Locations of Sl, Nos. 132, 376 and 377 of Appendix 20 are lost.

APPENDIX 22
FUNCTIONARIES OF THE TEMPLE*

Sl. No.	Designation of functionary	No. appointed	Functionary's designation in Tamil	Titles conferred, if any
1.	2	3	4	5
1.	Accountant	(4 + 8)	Kaṇakku	
2.	Drummer	(11 + 55)	Uvaichchu (they were drawn from the section of the community called Śayaḍai Koṭṭigaḷ which means, those who beat the big drums)	
3.	Parasol bearer	(11)	Tirupaḷḷi tongal Piḍikkum āḷ	Tongar-Pēraiyan
4.	Lamp lighters or torch bearers	(8)	Viḷakku-Uḍaiyār	
5.	Water sprinklers	(4)	Neer Teḷiyān	
6.		(2)	Śannāḷiyāḷ	
7.	Potters of the sacred kitchen	(11)	Tiru-maḍai-paḷḷik-kuśavar	
8.	Washermen	(2)	Vaṇṇāṭṭārgaḷ Īrankolli (the destroyer of dampness or wetness)	
9.	Chief Accountant	(1)	Perungaviḍi	Rājarāja
	and Accountant	(1)	Kaviḍi	Perungaviḍi
10.	Barber	(2)	Nāviśam Śeyvān	Rājarāja Perunāviśan
		(1)	Ambaṭṭan	Rājarāja Prāgyōgaraiyan
11.	Temple astrologer	(3)	Tiru	Gandadhirajan
		(3)	Kōḷinmai Śeyvān	Manyāḷapēraiyan
12.	Tailor	(2)	Tayyan	Vīrśōḻa Perumtaiyyan
13.	Jewel stitcher		Ratnat-tayyan	
14.	Brazier		Kannān	Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi Perungannān
15.	Chief carpenter or architect	(1)	Tachchāchāryan	Rājarāja Peruntachchan
16.	Carpenter/architect	(2)	Tachchu	Nittavinōda Peruntachchan
17.	Tailor	(1)	Śākkai	
18.	Appraiser of Jewels		Kaṇkāṇittaṭṭān	Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi Peruntattān

* See p. 244 of the text

APPENDIX 23

CHHATĪSH NIYŌGA OF THE LINGARĀJA TEMPLE AT BHUBANĒŚWAR*

	Functionary	Assigned Duty
1.	Pallā Baḍu	Fills daily the big stone kuṇḍam (vessel) with water for the bath of Lord Lingarāja. After bath he covers the Śakti with cloth and requisite ornaments.
2.	Pharaka Baḍu	Is the night-watcher of the temple
3.	Khaṭa Sēja Baḍu	Spreads the quilt over the sofa and arrange the pillows
4.	Pochhā Baḍu	Spreads daily a long piece of cloth from near the Śakti upto the sofa of the deity before bed-time.
5.	Pahāḍa Baḍu	Cleans the Śakti and its surroundings.
6.	Pūjāpaṇḍā	Makes offerings to the deity–only one entitled to do so
7.	Patri	Supplies bell and other necessary articles
8.	Panti Baḍu	Keeps watch over the offerings at the time of Pūja
9.	Garābaḍu	Supplies Garā (big bronze jar) Gaḍu (small copper water pot) and Pīḍha (wooden seat) at the time of Pūja
10.	Bhītara Khuntiā	Is the Gate-keeper of the inner entrance of the temple
11.	Haḍapā Nāyaka	Is in charge of preparation of Pāna (betel) and cold drink
12.	Dhōpakhalā	Cleans the temple kitchen daily
13.	Chāngaḍā Sēvaka	Supplies costumes before each of the five Dhūpas(period for making offerings)
14.	Chhatā Sēvaka	Holds the umbrella before the deity at the time of Dhūpa and on festival days
15.	Trāsa Sēvaka	Holds the Trāsa (big fan) like No. 14 above
16.	Paśupāḷaka	Carries the Vijaya Pratimās (bronze images) to the cars, Vimāna (wooden temple), palanquin, Chāpa (boat) at the time of different fastivals
17.	Pushpānjali Sēvaka	Carries to and back the bronze images of the five-faced Śiva from the Dakshiṇi Ghara (the shrine where the Vijaya Pratimās are kept) to the main shrine before bed-time
18.	Mahāsuār or Mahā Supakāra	Is the Temple Cook
19.	Pārvati Sēvaka	Is the sole servitor of goddess Pārvati
20.	Gōpāḷuṇi Sēvaka	Is the sole servitor of Goddess Gōpāḷuṇi
21.	mēkāpa	Is the Store-keeper of the deity
22.	Charchayata	Is the Supervisor of the nītis or daily rities of the deity
23.	Akhaṇḍa Sēvaka	Is in charge of burning perpetual lamp
24.	Kōṭha Bisōi	Supplies food articles for preparation of daily offerings
25.	Guḍiā Bisōi	Is the Temple confectioner
26.	Bidiā Bisōi	Is the Supplier of Pān (betal leaves), betal-but and spices
27.	Pāika	Is the Temple guard
28.	Samarthā	Prepares rice powder, minces vegetables etc., before cooking of offerings by the temple cook
30.	Māḍaḷā Samarthā	Beats a drum called Māḍaḷā at the time of worship and in festivals

* See p. 245 of the text

31.	Jyōtisha	Is the Temple astrologer
32.	Kāhāliā	Blows a pipe called Kāhāḷi
33.	Dhōbā	Is the washerman of the temple
34.	Maśālachi	Is the bearer of the Maśāla or torch
35.	Kumbhāra	Supplies earthern pots of different sizes for the temple
36.	Telengā Sēvaka	Beats a kind of drum called Telengā-bājā

APPENDIX 24
THE PROVINCES, VAḶANĀḌUS, KŌṬṬAMS, NĀḌUS, & KŪṞṞAMS OF THE CHŌḺA EMPIRE AS CULLED FROM INSCRIPTIONS[1]

A. ŚŌḺA MAṆḌALAM

I. Arumoḻidēva vaḷanāḍu (Ten kaḍuvay)
- (1) Āla nāḍu
- (2) Ārvala kūṟṟam
- (3) Iḍaiyaḷa nāḍu
- (4) Ingā nāḍu
- (5) Mangala nāḍu
- (6) Nenmali (Nemmēli) nāḍu
- (7) Puliyūr nāḍu
- (8) Purangarambai nāḍu
- (9) Ṭakkaḷūr nāḍu
- (10) Valivaḷa kūṟṟam
- (11) Vaṇḍārai Vēḷūr kūṟṟam

II. Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu (Vaḍa Kaḍuvay or Vaḍa Nāḍu)
- (1) Āla nāḍu
- (2) Ingā nāḍu
- (3) Marugal nāḍu
- (4) Maraiyūr nāḍu
- (5) Panaiyūr nāḍu
- (6) Paṭṭina kūṟṟam
- (7) Śeṟṟūr kūṟṟam
- (8) Tēvūr nāḍu
- (9) Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu
- (10) Tiruvārūr kūṟṟam
- (11) Vēla nāḍu

III. Kēraḷāntaka or Tenkarai Kēraḷāntaka vaḷanāḍu
- (1) Śūralūr kūṟṟam
- (2) Taṭṭaigaḷa nāḍu
- (3) Uraiyūr kūṟṟam

IV. Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu or Vaḍagarai Rājēndrasimha vaḷanāḍu
- (1) Adigaimangai nāḍu
- (2) Āṇḍāṭṭu kūṟṟam
- (3) Innambar (Innambur) nāḍu
- (4) Irungōḷappāḍi
- (5) Kār nāḍu
- (6) Koṇḍa nāḍu
- (7) Kurukkai nāḍu
- (8) Manni nāḍu
- (9) Mirai kuṟṟam
- (10) Miḻalai nāḍu (also called Vaḍagarai Miḻalai nāḍu)
- (11) Nallāṟṟūr nāḍu
- (12) Nāngūr nāḍu

(Contd.)

1. SII, II, Vol V. (also see p. 245 of the text).

APPENDIX 24 *(Contd.)*

(13) Neluvūr nāḍu
(14) Piḍavūr nāḍu
(15) Poygai nāḍu
(16) Tirukkarumala nāḍu
(17) Tiruvāli nāḍu
(18) Tiruvindaḷūr nāḍu
(19) Uttungatunga vaḷanāḍu
(20) Veṇṇaiyūr nāḍu
(21) Vēśālippāḍi
(22) Viḷaṭṭūr (Vēḷaṭṭūr) nāḍu

V. Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu (Māra nāḍu)
(1) Kaḷāra kūṟṟam
(2) Mīmalai nāḍu
(3) Pāchchir kūṟṟam
(4) (a) Mī Pālāru
(b) Kīḻ Pālāru
(5) Śemburai kaṇḍam
(6) Vaḍavari nāḍu
(7) Veṇkoṇkuḍi kaṇḍam

VI. Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu
(1) Āvūr kūṟṟam
(2) Kāndāra nāḍu
(3) Karambai nāḍu
(4) Kiḻār kūṟṟam
(5) Muḍich-chō nāḍu (or Muḍich-chōḻa nāḍu)
(6) Nallūr nāḍu
(7) Pāmbuṇi kūṟṟam
(8) Poyir kūṟṟam
(9) Veṇṇi kūṟṟam
(10) Vīraśōḻa vaḷanāḍu

VII. Uyyakkoṇḍān vaḷanāḍu (between the rivers of Ariśil and Kāvēri)
(1) Ākkūr nāḍu
(2) Ambar (Ambal) nāḍu
(3) Kurumbūr (Kurambūr) nāḍu
(4) Marugal nāḍu
(5) Pāmbura or Pāmbūr nāḍu
(6) (Tenkarai) Tiraimūr nāḍu
(7) Tirunaraiyūr nādu
(8) Tiruvaḷundūr (Tiruviḷandūr) nāḍu
(9) Veṇ nāḍu
(10) Viḷai nāḍu

VIII. Pāṇḍya (Pāṇḍi) kulāśani vaḷanāḍu (later also called Pāṇḍikulapati vaḷanāḍu, and again Tenkarai nāḍu)
(1) Ārkkāṭṭu kūṟṟam
(2) Ēyi nāḍu

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 24 *(Contd.)*

(3) Ēriy or Ēriyūr nāḍu
(4) Iḍaiyāṟṟu (Eḏaiyār) nāḍu
(5) Kiḻiyūr nāḍu
(6) Kīḻ-Śengili nāḍu
(7) Mīy-, Mēl- or Mī-Śengili nāḍu
(8) Kīḻ-Śūdi nāḍu
(9) Mīyvaḻi nāḍu or Mīypoḻi nāḍu
(10) Panangāḍu nāḍu
(11) Tanjāvūr kūṟṟam
(12) Punrir kūṟṟam
(13) Purakkiḻiyūr nāḍu
(14) Śuṇḍaimūlai naḏu
(15) Vaḍa-Kavirai nāḍu
(16) Vaḍaśiruvāy or Vaḍaśiruvāyil nāḍu
(17) Viḷā nāḍu

IX. Vaḍagarai Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu
(1) Ēmappēr kūṟṟam
(2) Kīḻ-Vēngai nāḍu
(3) Kunrir kūṟṟam
(4) Panriyūr nāḍu
(5) Poygai nāḍu
(6) Poyir kūṟṟam
(7) Pulivala kūṟṟam
(8) Punril or Punrir kūṟṟam
(9) Śennimangala kūṟṟam
(10) Varagūr nāḍu

B. TOṆḌAI NĀḌU alias JAYANGOṆḌAŚŌḺA MAṆḌALAM

I. Malāḍu alias Jananātha vaḷanāḍu
(1) Kurukkai kūṟṟam
(2) Pānūr kūṟṟam

II. Tirumunaippāḍi or Munaippāḍi (on the north bank of Peṇṇai) Pēringūr (Pērangiyūr)
(1) Mēlūr nāḍu

III. Ōymā nāḍu
(1) Ānmūr nāḍu
(2) Kiṭkai nāḍu
(3) Perāyūr nāḍu

IV. Aruva nāḍu
(1) Vāgūr nāḍu or Kīḻvaḻi-Vāgūr nāḍu
(2) Vāvaḷūr nāḍu

V. Vāṇagōppāḍi

VI. Vāḷaiyūr (on the north bank of the Peṇṇai) alias Nittavinōdapuram (Jambai)

VII. Vaḍagarai Vēśalippāḍi
(1) Vāgūr nāḍu

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 24 *(Contd.)*

C. TOṆḌAI NĀḌU, TOṆḌAI MAṆḌALAM or JAYANGOṆḌAŚŌḺA MAṆḌALAM

I. Veṇkunra Kōṭṭam
 (1) Perumaṇḍai nāḍu
II. Dāmar kōṭṭam
 (1) Dāmar nāḍu
 (2) Valla nāḍu
III. Kunravattana kōṭṭam
 (1) Mēnmalai Taṇiyal nāḍu
IV. Āmūr kōṭṭam
 (1) Āmūr nāḍu
 (2) Kumiḻi nāḍu
 (3) Paḍuvūr nāḍu
V. Puliyūr kōṭṭam
 (1) Kōṭṭūr nāḍu
 (2) Śurattūr nāḍu
 (3) Tuḍamuṇi nāḍu
VI. Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu kōṭṭam
 (1) Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu kūṟṟam
 (2) Nīrvēḷūr nāḍu
VII. Śengāṭṭu kōṭṭam
 (1) Māgaṇūr nāḍu
VIII. Kāḷiyūr kōṭṭam
 (1) Kāḷiyūr kūṟṟam
IX. Puḻal kōṭṭam
 (1) Puḻal nāḍu
X. Paḍuvūr kōṭṭam
 (1) Pangaḷa nāḍu
 (2) Peruntimiri nāḍu
 (3) Mīyāru nāḍu
XI. Maṇayir kōṭṭam
 (1) Panmā nāḍu
XII. Perumbāṇappāḍi
 (1) Tiruvēngaḍa kōṭṭam
  (a) Āṟṟūr nāḍu
  (b) Kuḍavūr nāḍu
  (c) Tū nāḍu

D. PĀṆḌI NĀḌU alias RĀJARĀJA MAṆḌALAM or RĀJARĀJA VAḶANĀḌU

I. Perumbūr nāḍu
II. Tirukkāṇappēr kūṟṟam
III. Muḷḷi nāḍu
IV. Nānji nāḍu
V. Kīḻkaḷa kūṟṟam
VI. Kēraḷasinga vaḷanāḍu
VII. Śūranguḍi nāḍu

(Contd.)

APPENDIX 24 *(Contd.)*

E. MALAI NĀḌU

I. Veḷḷappa nāḍu

F. GANGAPĀḌI

I. Padi nāḍu

G. NUḶAMBAPĀḌI alias NIGARILIŚŌḶAPĀḌI

I. Parivai nāḍu

H. ĪḶAM alias MUMMAḌIŚŌḶA VAḶANĀḌU or MAṆḌALAM (ŚRĪ LANKĀ)

I. Kaṇakkan Kōṭṭiyāram alias Vikramaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu
II. Māppiśumbu-Kōṭṭiyāram alias Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu

I. MISCELLANEOUS DIVISIONS NOT DEFINED

I. Vaḍa Kōnāḍu
II. Śuttamalli vaḷanāḍu
III. Veṇṇi kūṟṟam
IV. Vaḍagarai Rājāśraya vaḷanāḍu
V. Kiḻār kūṟṟam

APPENDIX 25
NAMES OF ARMY REGIMENTAL UNITS AND SUB-UNITS*

1. Perundanattu Ānaiyāṭkaḷ
2. Paṇḍita-Śōḻa-terinda-Villigaḷ
3. Uttama-Śōḻa-terinḍa-Andalagattāḷār
4. Nigarili-Śōḻa-terinda-Uḍanilai-Kudiraichchēvagar
5. Mummaḍi-Śōḻa-Terinda-Ānaippāgar
6. Vīra-Śōḻa-Aṇukkar
7. Parāntaka-Kongavāḷār
8. Mummaḍi-Śōḻa-terinda-Parivārattār
9. Kēraḷāntaka-terinda-Parivārattār
10. Mūlaparivāra-viṭṭēru alias Jananātha-terinda-Parivārattār
11. Śingaḷāntaka-terinda-Parivārattār
12. Śirudanattu Vaḍugakkalavār
13. Valangai-Parambaḍaigaḷilār
14. Perundanattu-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārappaḍaigaḷ
15. Śirudanattu-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārappaḍaigaḷ
16. Aḻagiya-Śōḻa-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
17. Aridurgālanghana-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
18. Chaṇḍaparākrama-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
19. Iḷaiya-Rājarāja-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
20. Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
21. Mūrtavikramābharaṇa-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
22. Nittavinōda-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
23. Rājakaṇṭhirava-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
24. Rājarāja-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
25. Rājavinōda-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
26. Raṇamukha-Bhīma-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
27. Vikramābharaṇa-terinda-Valangai-Vēḷaikkārar
28. Kēraḷāntaka-vāśal-tirumēykāppār
29. Aṇukka-vāśal-tirumēykāppār
30. Parivāramēykāppārgaḷ
31. Palavagai-Parampaḍaigaḷilār

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* See p. 248 of the text

APPENDIX 26
STREETS, SUBURBS AND LOCALITIES IN THE CHOLA CAPITAL*

1. Abhimānabhūshana-terinda vēḷām
2. Ānai-āṭkaḷ teru
3. Ānaikkaḍuvār teru
4. Arumoḷidēva-terinda-tirupparigalattār vēḷām
5. Brahmakuttam
6. Gāndharva teru
7. Jayangoṇḍaśōlap perunderu
8. Kongavāḷār angāḍi
9. Maḍaippaḷḷi teru
10. Pāṇḍi vēḷām
11. Panmaiyār teru
12. Panchavan-Mādēviyār vēḷām alias Kaiḍavakaiḍava .. vēḷām
13. Rājarāja-terinda-Pāṇḍi-tirumanjanattār vēḷām
14. Rājarāja-terinda-Pāṇḍi-tirumanjanattār vēḷām
15. Rājavidyādharap-perunderu
16. Raudramahākāḷattu maḍaiviḷāgam
17. Śaliyat teru
18. Śivadāsanśōlai alias Rājarāja-Brahma mahārājan paḍaivīḍu
19. Śuraśikhāmaṇip perunderu
20. Tribhuvana-Mahādēvip pērangāḍi
21. Uttamaśiliyār vēḷām
22. Uyyakkoṇḍān-terinda-tirumanjanattār vēḷām
23. Vānavan-Mādēvip-perunteru
24. Villigaḷ teru
25. Vīraśōḷap-perunteru

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* See p. 251 of the text

Appendix 27

The fifty Musicians appointed to sing the Tiruppadiyam*

1. Pālan (Bālan) Tiruvānjiyattaḍigaḷ alias Rājarāja Pichchan alias Sadā Ṡivan
2. Paṭṭālagan Ambalattāḍi alias Manōttama Ṡivan
3. Tiruveṇāval Ṡemborchōdi alias Dakshiṇamēru Viṭanka Pichchan alias Jnāna Ṡivan
4. Paṭṭālagan Siruḍaikkaḷaḷ alias Manōtta Ṡivan
5. Porchuvaran Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Pūrva Ṡivan
6. Mādēvan Tiru-jnāna-Sambandan alias Jnāna Ṡivan
7. Kailayan Ārūr alias Dharma Ṡivan
8. Ṡetti Eḍuttapādam alias Kavacha Ṡivan
9. Irāman Sambandan alias Satya Ṡivan
10. Ambalavan Paṭṭargaḷ... alias Vāmana Ṡivan
11. Kamban Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Sadā Ṡivan
12. Nakkan Ṡirāḷan alias Vāmana Ṡivan
13. Appi Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Nētra Ṡivan
14. Ṡivakkoḷundu Ṡirāḷan alias Dharma Ṡivan
15. Ainūṛṛuvan Vēnkaṭan alias Satya Ṡivan
16. Araiyan Aṇukkan alias Tirumaraikkā... alias Dharma Ṡivan
17. Araiyan Ambalakkūttan alias Ōmkāra Ṡivan
18. Ārūran Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Jnāna Ṡivan
19. Kūttan Maḷalaich-chilambu alias Pūrva Ṡivan
20. Ainūṛṛuvan Ṡīyārūr alias Tatpurusha Ṡivan
21. Sambandan Ārūran alias Vāma Ṡivan
22. Araiyan Pichchan alias Dharma Ṡivan
23. Kāśyapan Eḍuttapādap-pichchan alias Rudra Ṡivan
24. Subrahmaṇyan Achchan alias Dharma Ṡivan
25. Kūttan Amarabhujangan alias Satya Ṡivan
26. .... Vēnkaṭan alias Aghōra Ṡivan
27. Mādēvan Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Vijyāna Ṡivan
28. Kūttan Vēngaḍan alias Rudra Ṡivan
29. Ainūṛṛuvan Tiruvāymūr alias Aghōra Ṡivan
30. Tirumalai Kūttan alias Vāma Ṡivan
31. Ainūṛṛuvan Eḍuttapādam alias Dharma Ṡivan
32. Araiyan Tillaikkaraiṡu alias Pūrva Ṡivan
33. Kāḷi Sambandan alias Ḍharma Ṡivan
34. Kāpālika Vāli alias Jnāna Ṡivan
35. Vēngaḍan Namaṡṡivāyam alias Rudra Ṡivan
36. Ṡivan Anantan alias Yōga Ṡivan
37. Ṡivakkoḷundu Sambandan alias Aghōra Ṡivan
38. Irāman (Rāman) Gaṇavadi (Ganapati) alias Jnāna Ṡivan
39. Pichchan Vēngaḍan alias Aghōra Ṡivan
40. Maraikkāḍan Nambi Ārūran alias Jnāna Ṡivan
41. Sōman Sambandan alias Jnāna Ṡivan
42. Ṡatti (Ṡakti) Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Īṡāna Ṡivan
43. Porchuvaran Nambi Ārūran alias Dharma Ṡivan
44. Achchan Tirunāvukkaraiyan alias Nētra Ṡivan

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* See p. 254 of the text

Appendix 27 *(Contd)*

45. Aiyāran Peṇōrbāgan alias Hridaya Śivan
46. Rājādittan Ambalattāḍi alias Śikhā Śivan
47. Śelvan Gaṇavadi Temban alias Dharma Śivan
48. Kūttan Tillaik-kūttan alias Jnāna Śivan
49. Sūrya Dēva Kramavittan alias Viḍanga Uḍukkai Vijjādiran alias Sōma Śivan, son of Tattaya Kramavittan of Dvēdaigōma-puram (for beating the uḍukkai, the small drum), and
50. Guṇappugaḷ Marudan alias Śikhā Śivan (for beating the koṭṭi-maddaḷam, the big drum).

Some of the names may be usefully clarified. Tiru-vānjiyattu-aḍigaḷ is one who worships at the feet of the Lord of Tiru (Śrī) Vānjiyam, which is a village 18 kilometres north-west of Tiruvārūr (Nannilam taluk). Śīyārur stands for Śrī-ārūr which is the same Tiru-ārūr. Maraikkāḍu is the Tamil equivalent of Vēdāraṇyam and Aiyāran means 'of Aiyāru,' i.e., Tiru-Aiyāru. Peṇōrbāgan stands for Peṇ-ōr-Bhāgan, which means Ardha-Nāri-Īśvara. Kramavittan is the Tamil equivalent of Kramavid, meaning 'one who knows the Krama-patha'. Vijjādiran is a corruption of Vidyādharan, the other form frequently used being Vichchādiran. Marudan would mean 'one belonging to Marudūr', i.e., Tiruviḍai-marudūr. Similarly, a number of names could be interpreted, like Paṭṭargaḷ (i.e. Bhaṭṭargaḷ), Gaṇavadi (Gaṇapati), Śirudak-kaḻal, Śivakkoḻundu etc.

Appendix 28

Transliteration of the Quotations on Karaṇas*

1. Vāmē pushpapuṭah kāryah pārśvēpādōgratalasancharah
   Tathā cha sannatam pārśvam pārśvam talapushpapuṭam bhavēt[2]
2. Yastu sarpaś irōprōtta yasyāngulinirantarah
   Devitīya pārśva samślishṭa sa tu pushpapuṭasmrtah
3. Angulyāh samhrtāh sarvāh sahāngushṭakēna yasya tat
   Tathā nimna talaś chaiva tatu sarpaśirāh karah
4. Utkshiptastu bhavēt pārshṇi prasūtō angushṭakastathā
   Angulyām chitāssarvāh pādōgratalasancharah
5. Udghaṭṭitam samam chaiva tathā agratalasancharah
   Anchitah kunchitah sūchipādam shōḍhāh prakīrtitāh
6. Natam samunnatam chaiva prasārtita vivartitah
   Tathāpasrtamēvastu pārśvayō karma panchadhāh
7. Kaṭhīrbhavētta vyābhugnā pārśvabhābhugnamēvacha
   Tathaivāprthāmsacha kinchit pārśva natam smrtam
8. Akrittha śukatuṇḍākhyam uru prshṭē nipātayēt
   Vāmahastaścha vakshasthōpyapaviddham tadbhavēt
9. Arāḷasya yadā vakrānāmitvangulirbhavēt
   Śukatuṇḍastu tatkarah karmachāsyalibhōdhata[1]
10. Ādyādhanurnatakāryā kunjitāngushṭakastathā
    Śēshōbhinnōdhvavalitā hyarāḷānguḷayah karē[2]
11. Paryāyaśah kaṭicchhinnā bāhvōhōh śirasi pallavau
    Punahpunaścha karaṇam kaṭicchhinnam tu tatbhavēt[1]
12. Kaṭi madhyasya valanācchhinnā samprakīrtitā[2]
13. Chhinnāchaiva nivrttāya rēchitā kampitā tathā
    Udvāhitā chēti kaṭīnāṭyē nrttē cha panchchadhā[3]
14. Manibandhanamuktau tu patākau pallavau smrtau[4]
15. Asakritpallavau hastau amśadēśanivēśitau
    Vēllitau cha katiryatra kaṭicchhinnam tu tatbhavēt
16. Chhinnā vyāyāma sambhrānta vyāvrittapēkshaṇādishu[1]
17. Āvrtya kaṭicchhinnam tadvismaya nirūpaṇē
18. Kunchitam pādamukshipya trayaśramūrum vivartayēt
    Katijānu vivarttāchcha bhujangatrāsitam bhavēt
19. Utkshiptā yasya pārshṇih syadangulyāh kunchitāstathā
    Tata kunchitamadhyaścha sa pādah kunchitas smrtah[1]

* See pp. 135 to 147 of the text

Appendix 28 *(Contd)*

20. Pārshṇirayantaram gacchhēdyatra vivartanam[2]
21. Kampanam valanam chaiva Sthambanōdvartanē tathā
Vivartanam cha panchaitānyūru karmāṇi kārayēt[3]
22. Khaṭakākhyatadanvartam andhrīmurakāṭajānusyaśram
yatra vivartayet
22A. Vyāvritta parivrittāśyām yēkō ḍōlakara parah
Khaṭakākhyatadanvartam bhujangatrāsitam matam
23. Bhujangatrāsitam krtvā yatrō bhavati rēchitau
Vāmapārśva sthitau hastau bhujangatrasta rēchitam
24. Kunchitam pādam utkshipya trayaśramurūm vivartayēt
Kaṭijānuvivartāścha bhujangatrāsitā bhavēt
25. Bhujangatrāsitau pādau hastau dvāvapi rēchitau
Vāmapārśvē sthitau tat syād bhujangatrastarēchitam[1]
26. Bhujangatrāsitānchāri tatō yatra cha rēchitau
Hastastu vāmapārśvē tat bhujangatrasta rēchitam[2]
27. Hastau tu svastikau pārśvē tathā pādō nikuṭṭitah
Yatra tat karaṇam jnēyam budhaih pārśva-nikuṭṭitam[3]
28. Manibandhana vinyasthāvarāḷau strīprayōgitau
Uttānau vāmapārśvasthau svastitah parikīrtitah[1]
29. Ādyādhanurnatā kāryā kanjitāngushṭakastathā
Śēshō bhinnōrdhvalitā hyarānguḷayah karē[2]
30. Sthitvā pādatālāgrēṇa pārshṇibhūmau nipātyatē
yasya pādasya karaṇē bhavēduddghaṭṭitassah
31. Vriśchikam charaṇam krtvā pādasyāngushṭakēna tu
Lalāṭa tilakam kuryāt lalāṭa tilakam tu tat
32. ... tadā lalāṭatilakam vidyādhara gataumatam[1]

NOTE 1

A NOTE ON THE MURALS OF RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM

The southern peninsular region of India has not been known for any profuse occurrence of paintings, but such paintings as are there provide a close and continuing link between the classical painting of Ajanta which declined after the 6th century A.D.and the Rajput school of paintings that came up in the 16th century. The continuum was not known till about the first quarter of the 20th century when a series of discoveries, in patches no doubt, were made, like the remarkable group of Jaina paintings of the classical (Ajanta) style at Śittannavāśal, in the erstwhile princely state of Pudukōttai (now a district in Tamil Nāḍu) in 1920 by Gopinatha Rao and Jouveau Dubreuil, datable from about the 7th century and attributed to the Pallava ruler, Mahēndravarman I (A.D. 600-625). Some traces of painting were found on the wall surface of the cave temples at Māmaṇḍūr (about 10 km. from Kānchipuram), also attributable to the same ruler, who was the author as well of the cave temple. That one could not err much in speculating that this painting be ascribable to this ruler seems to get justification from a fragmentary inscription found at Māmaṇḍūr, which speaks of Mahēndravarman's contribution to dance and music as well as to painting. This discovery was followed by another, in respect of a group of paintings in the classical style in the Kailāsanātha temple of Kānchipuram. This group could be dated to A.D. 690 or subsequently, since the temple itself came into being after that year, during the reign of the Pallava ruler Narasimhavarman II (alias, and better known as, Rājasimha). Similar traces were found in another famous temple at Kānchipuram, viz., the one dedicated to Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ. Malayaḍipaṭṭi soon threw up some more paintings, discovered by Venkatarangam of the Pudukōṭṭai state Museum, similar in style to those of Śittannavāśal and relatable to Pallava Nandivarman. In the same chain of continuing discoveries came the Tirumalaipuram (Tirunelveli district, Tamil Nadu) cave temple painting (also discovered by Dubreuil) dated to the 9th century, followed by some further beautiful paintings found in the temple at Tiruvanjikuḷam (of the former Cochin state,

now a district of Kerala), brought to light by K.V. Ramanathan. These paintings would be dated to the 11th century. It was in the early thirties of this century that Prof. S.K. Govindaswamy of the Annamalai University discovered the Chōḷa paintings in the vestibule of the Rājarājēśvaram temple at Tanjāvur.

The walls of the vestibule over which the paintings are drawn are hornblende-gneiss with a very rough surface, which thus provided the 'tooth' so that the rough plaster or the first application of rough plaster adhered firmly to it. The Chōḷa painter dealing with this surface and the canvas of large wall spaces but no depth for the viewer to move backwards to get a macro view of the entire canvas, resorted to the type of mural painting that came under the definition of *fresco*, not *tempera* or *encaustic*. And even in fresco, it is *buon fresco* or *true fresco* technique that has been adopted here, as distinguished from *fresco secco* or *dry fresco*. This technique has been dictated by the nature of the medium used, which in turn has been necessitated by the canvas on which the paintings had to be drawn. The principal element in the plaster is 'lime' (i.e. calcium oxide basically) and is in all about 2.6 mm thick, though it varies from place to place in response to the varying roughness of the stone surface. This layer itself would appear to have been built up in two stages, in the first stage as an average coating of about 1.8 mm having been applied over the irregular rough surface of the stone, followed by another coating, even when the earlier layer was wet, of about 0.7 mm thickness to give the necessary smoothness to the base surface. This was followed by the "painting in true fresco"—i.e., "painting on wet lime plaster. The water in the plaster evaporates and at the same time, the lime absorbs carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. On the surface of the picture is formed a glassy layer of crystalline carbonate of lime which incorporates the colours with the ground in such a manner as to make them absolutely insoluble in water and, at the same time, gives to them a fine sheen peculiar to genuine fresco painting. This is enhanced by repeated smoothing of the surface with a trowel or a stone." (S. Paramasivan, the Mural Painting in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore – an Investigation into the Method, Technical Studies in the field of the Fine Arts, Fogg Art Museum,

Harvard University, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1937). By and large, it is clear that the Chōḷa paintings were executed in true fresco. "In a few places, the colour films do not adhere so firmly as they do in general." Evidently the pigments were mixed and applied in lime medium in those places, implying that the painting were "begun in fresco and were finished or retouched in lime medium especially in places where the pigment layer has not held firmly."

By contrast, it would be interesting to study what seven centuries later the Nāyak painters did with this treated surface. Paintings on a smooth surface left by the Chōḷas, the Nāyak painter went over the same process and applied a rough plaster layer of 1.5 mm thickness though at places it is as much as 2.2 mm. And on this was laid the finishing layer with an average thickness of about 0.6 mm. In both the Chōḷa and Nāyak preparations of the surfaces, it has been noticed that the lower coat contains the coarser and larger grains of sand, while the finish plaster contains the finer grains; in other words, the plaster is graded, a technique which, it is said, was followed by the Romans in preparing plastered walls for mural paintings. (A.P. Laurie, The Painter's Methods and Materials, London : Seeley & Co, 1926).

The Chōḷa frescoes indulge in black, yellow, brown, red, blue, and green which are the prime colours and yellowish green, light blue and flesh tint as mixed colours. Strangely, the Nāyak frescoes also have the same colour system with minor variations. In both cases, white has been derived from lime, black from wood charcoal or lamp black, blue from ultramarine, yellow, brown and red from ochres, green from terre verte, yellowish green from ultramarine and yellow ochre, light blue from ultramarine toned down with possibly lime or silica or fine sand, bluish green from a mixture of ultramarine and terre verte and flesh tint probably from a blend of red and white.

An interesting point dealt with by S. Paramasivan is a speculation about the time taken for these paintings to cover the wall surfaces of the vestibule. The coat being thin, the moisture would not have lasted long, and so the painting should have been executed in quick time; in case the artists took up patch by patch painting, then joints would be clearly visible and such joints are conspicuous by

their absence. He therefore concludes, "From the fact that the Chōḷa plaster was too thin to retain moisture for a long time and that the art consequently demanded great skill and swiftness of execution, we are led to one of three following conclusions:

1. The artist or artists completed one wall per day or during such time as it remained wet. In that case, there was no joint to be visible. This would not have been an impossible task, since the wall is divided into horizontal panels by patches of colour and each panel might have been worked out by an artist or a group of artists. As a matter of fact, there are many small scenes on each panel, so that each scene might have been painted by one artist, and a number have worked at the same time. The area of the panels varies from about 24 square feet to 60 square feet.
2. Since the walls are divided into horizontal panels by patches of colour, the joints might have been hidden underneath, in which case one panel would have been painted during such time as the plaster remained wet.
3. The pigments employed for the body of the figures and as background, were so worked over as to hide all the joints.

It is difficult to make any categorical assertions in this regard.

NOTE 2

A NOTE ON RĀJARĀJA I'S ENDOWMENT FOR THE SINGING OF THE DĒVĀRAM HYMNS IN THE TEMPLE OF RĀJARĀJĒŚVARAM

It would be a surprise indeed if Rājarāja I who had exhibited such deep concern for the hymns of the Nāyanmārs and exerted so much earnest effort for reclaiming their hidden treasure, had not made endowments for their recitation in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram he built with so much love and devotion and on which he lavished all he held dear and the choicest of his booty he got from the conquered kingdoms.

By a royal order issued in his 29th regnal year, the king had this endowment engraved on the walls of the great temple (SII, II, No. 65) which gave effect to his earlier appointment of fifty persons–fortyeight musicians (piḍārar) for reciting the Tiruppadiyam before the Lord Rājarājēśvarar and two more, one to beat the uḍukkai (the small drum) and another to beat the koṭṭi mattaḷam (the big drum) in the company of the singers. These fifty persons were each to receive daily from the City Treasury of the king (Uḍaiyār uḷḷūr Bhaṇḍāram) three kuruṇi of paddy measured by the standard measure called Āḍavallān, equivalent to the Rājakēsari measure.

The king was careful enough to issue clear instructions in the same order to fill up vacancies as in the case of death or emigration to ensure the smooth succession of qualified persons to carry on this sacred service uninterrupted. If any of the incumbents should die or emigrate, the nearest relations of such persons would fill his place. If the nearest relations of such persons were not qualified themselves, they were to select other qualified persons. If there were no near relations to such persons, the other incumbents of such appointments (Nyāyattār) were to select qualified persons (yōgiyar) for reciting the Tiruppadiyam, and the selected persons were to receive the remuneration fixed for the original donee.

It may be of interest to add that the names[1] of some of these piḍārars are those of the three authors of the Dēvāram hymns—

1. See list at Appendix 27.

Tirujnānasambandar, (para 7) or Sambandar (paras 10, 22 etc.), Tirunāvukkaraiyar (paras 6, 12 etc.) and Nambi Ārūran (paras 41, 44) or Ārūran (paras 19, 22) i.e. Sundarar. Two other incumbents bear the name of Śirāḷan, one of the sixty-three Śaivite Nāyanmārs.

A number of other singers bear the names of some of the temples which were in existence at that time. They are: Tiruvānjiyam (2), Arūr (8) or Śrī Ārūr (21), Tiruvāymūr (30), Maraikkāḍu (41) or Tirumaraikkāḍu (17), Aiyāru (46) i.e. Tiruvaiyāru and Marudūr (51) from Tiru-viḍai-marudūr. The name Veṇgāḍan (16, 27 etc.) is derived from Tiruveṇgāḍu and the names of Ambalavan (12), Ambalattāḍi (4), Ambalakkūttan (18), Kūttan (20, 26 etc.), Tillai Kūttan (49), Tillaikkaraśu (33) and Eduttapādam (9, 24) are after the names of the Lord of Dance, Naṭarāja at Chidambaram. The name Tiruveṇṇāval is identical with that of the Śiva temple of Jambukēśvaram of Tiruvānaikā (the Lord of the sacred elephant grove) near the Vishṇu temple of Śrīrangam, both of them close to Tiruchirāppalli.

What spiritual satisfaction and hopes of religious merit should Rājarāja have derived from this unique gift in consonance with the size and grandeur of this temple at his capital!

A point of significance in the naming of these fifty musicians appointed for singing the Tiruppadiyam is that all of them, with no exception, were given an alternative (alias) name that ended in Śivan, like Sadā Śivan, Jnāna Śivan, Kavacha Śivan, Vāmana Śivan, Nētra Śivan etc. in addition to their own given names. An exhibition of Rājarāja's deep devotion to Śaivism !

Glossary of Technical Terms

A

Term	Meaning
Abhanga	slight flexion
abhaya	hand pose of assuring protection
abhinaya	gesticulation
adhishṭhāna	moulded basement resting on upapīṭha (mouldings, see ARE no. 31 of 1895, Tillaisthānam)
āhūya-varada	hand pose of beckoning to confer boon
akshamālā	rosary
ālīḍha	warrior's pose with right leg bent forward and left leg drawn back
āḻvār	a vaishṇavite saint
ànanda tāṇḍava	dance pose
angahāra	bodily gyrations in a dance pose
angula	unit of measurement
anjali	folded hands, in prayer, adoration etc.
ananta	a variety of armlet
antara bhitti	inner wall
antarāḷa	vestibule or śukhanāsi, ante-chamber
antarīya	lower garment
anugrahamūrti	divine form in a mood of benevolence
āpasmāra	evil or ignorance personified
ardha-chandra hasta	fingers held in a crescent shape to hold fire
ardhamaṇḍapa	front porch, tiru-iḍaik-kaṭṭu (Gaṇḍāradittam, ARE no. 202 of 1928–29), navaranga
ardha-paryanka	seated with both the legs on the seat, one raised up and the other bent
ardhākshi	One of the five sthānas or positions
ardhaju	one of the five sthānas or positions
ardha-yōga-paṭṭa	meditative pose with hand around one bent leg
ardha-yōga-āsana	pose of meditation, with hand around one bent leg
ardhōraka	shorts
asamyuta-hasta	a single hand in dance gesticulation
āsana	seated pose
ashṭa-tāla	measurement of images in eight tālas
ati-bhanga	multiple flextions of the body
āyudhapurushas	divine weapons personified

B

Bāhya Bhitti	outer wall
bāji-bandha	an ornament, a string of beads, encircling the arm at the elbow
bhakta	a devotee
bali pīṭham	alter for offerings to deities
bhā-maṇḍala	halo
bhāva	emotion
bhittika	one of the five sthānas or positions
bhramaraka	ringlets of hair
bhringi-pāda	a small bell worn on the leg
bhujanga trāsa	(lit. scared by snake)—a dance pose that depicts the emotion of fear at the sight of snake
bhujanga-vaḷaya	ornament around the waist in the form of a coiled snake
bhū-sparśa	touching the earth
birudā	title, surname
bōdhikā (pōdikai)	corbel surmounting the capital of a pillar
brahmasūtra	plumb-line

C

Chakra	wheel of Vishṇu
channavira	decorated cross belts over the breasts
chatura	a dance pose (lit. clever)
chatur-vyūha	the four forms of Vishnu (Vāsudēva, Śankarshaṇa, Pradhyumna and Aniruddha)
chinmudrā	hand pose signifying knowledge
cire perdue (Fr.)	Lost-wax process

D

Damaru	hand drum (kettle drum)
daṇḍa	stick
daṇḍa hasta	hand held like a stick
daśa tāla	measurement of images by ten tālas
dēvakōshṭa	niche for subordinate deities—vimāna dēvatas, or pārśva dēvatas of Kaḷinga style
dhammilla	a variety or type of coiffure
dhatura	a flower
dhyōti	cloth (worn over the waist and draped down over the legs to varying lengths)
dhyāna (mudrā)	meditation, or hands in meditation posture
dīpalakshmi	auspicious female lamp-bearer
divya maṇḍapa	hall supported by 108 or 1008 pillars
dvāra sabhā	gōpuram with 1- 2 storeys—nilai
dvāra śāla	„ „ 2- 4 „ „
dvāra prāsāda	„ „ 3- 5 „ „
dvāra harmya	„ „ 5- 7 „ „
mahā maryāda-mahā gōpuram	„ „ 7-16 „ „

dvārapāla	guardian deity of the door or gateway
dvāra śākhas	jambs
dvi-bhanga	body in two flexions (duo-flex)

E

Ēkatāla	measurement of images by one tāla
ēkāvaḷi	one stringed big necklace of pearls

G

Gadā	club of Vishṇu
gāḍha	circular niche set in a makara or other tōraṇa
gaṇa	Śiva's dwarf-attendant
garbhagriha	sanctum sanctorum, mūlasthānam
ghana	in metal casting, solidly cast, as distinct from hollow cast
ghana dvāra	false doors adorned with tōraṇas
gōpuram	temple gateway
gōmukha	gargoyle, praṇāḷa
graivēya	jewelled necklet
grīvā (neck)	part of the śrīvimāna superstructure, between the topmost taḷa of the vimāna and the śikhara

H

Hāra	necklace, garland, a string of decorative elements like śāla and kūṭa forming a tier of the vimāna
haṃsa bandham	swan freize
hasta svastikā	crossed hands, a pose in dancing
hasti sauṇḍika	mode of wearing the lower garment resembling the contours of an elephant's trunk

J

Jagati	basement moulding
janghīka	loin cloth
jaṭā	lock of hair
jaṭā-bhara	heavy mass of locks of hair
jaṭā maṇḍala	outspread circle of locks of hair
jaṭā makuṭa	crown, formed out of locks of hair
jvāla kēśa	hair upturned over the head, resembling flame

K

Kāl (kambham)	pillar (sometimes pilasters also)
kalaśam	pot-shaped section of the capital of a pillar, also the pot-shaped portion of the vimāna above the śikhara
kalyāṇa maṇḍapa	hall for the festival of divine wedding, tiruvarangu (SII, II, no. 2)
Kampu	a basement moulding
kaṇḍam	a basement moulding
kaṇṭhi	necklet

kapōtam	a moulding (= pigeon)
kapāla	skull cap
karaṇa	dance unit (one of the 108 varieties of units)
karaṇḍa	casket
karaṇḍa makuṭa	crown shaped like a casket
kari hasta	same as Daṇḍa hasta or gaja hasta
karmāra	metal workers
karṇa vēshṭana	ear ornament
kartari mukha	scissors-shaped finger pose
kāśa	a flower
karukku (kōḍik-karukku)	foliage decoration, often at the end of a koḍungai
kaṭakā-mukha	hand in the posture of holding a lily
kaṭṭu	prismatic section of a pillar, also a chamber or area
kaṭi sūtra	waist band
kaṭyavalambita	hand held loose close to the body with the fingers holding to the hip or thigh
kēśa bandha	a variety of coiffure
kēyūra	an armlet
kinkiṇi-gala	chain of balls
kirīṭa	crown
kirīṭa-makuṭa	royal crown
kōḍik-karukku	see karukku above
koḍungai	cornice (horizontal moulded projection covering a building or a tala)
kōshṭa	niche
kōshṭa panjara	niche with cage motif decoration (See kumbha panjara)
krishnājina	deer skin
kshudra maṇḍapa	(lit. small hall) hall with 4 to 28 pillars
kucha bandha	band tied over the breasts, breast-band
kuṇḍala	ear ornament (one of a variety—makara, simha, prēta, ratna, patia, nakra)
kūḍu	chaitya motif, window motif (horse shoe shaped decorative element on the facade of a monument, any dimunitive form used for decoration)
kuḍya	sthamba, pillar
kumudam	a basement moulding

L

Lalitā	a dance unit
līlā kamala	lotus held in hand in sport, playfully
lōla hasta	hand held or allowed to dangle loosely

M

Madhuchchishṭa-Vidhana	lotus wax mode of casting metal images (see cire perdue above)
mahāmaṇḍapa	hall in front of mukha maṇḍapa
mahārāja līlā	seated pose of ease like a king with the right hand resting on the knee of the bent leg

Term	Meaning
makara	motif of a crocodile with floriated tail
makara makuṭa	makara-docorated crown
makara toraṇa	makara decorated entablature over a niche
makuṭa	crown
maṇḍala	halo
maṇḍapa	pillared hall
māngalya sūtra	auspicious string round the neck (marriage string)
mani-mālā	a string of beads
mēkhalā	broad girdle
mriga	deer
mudrā	gesture of hand
mukha maṇḍapa	hall in front of ardha maṇḍapa
mūlasthāna(m)	garbhagriha, sanctum sanctorum
	N
nāga bandham	a section having a frieze of nāgas (cf. hamsa bandham—a frieze of swans)
nāga-kucha-bandha	a snake-design breast band
nāśi	interspace between śāla and kūṭa in the taḷas of a vimāna
nilai	storey of a gōpuram or vimāna
nritta maṇḍapa	hall of dance
nritta mūrti	Śiva in dancing form
nūpura	anklet
	P
Pāda Pīṭha	foot stool
pādaśara	ornament round the ankles
pāda svastikā	crossed legs
padma bandham	a freize of lotuses
padmāsana	lotus seat or pose of ease with the legs crossed and the soles turned up
paksha sūtra	side line
palagai	abacus (tailloir), part of the capital of a pillar
pancharam (also panjaram)	attique, a small pavilion, like a nest or cage, used as a decorative motif
panchatāla	measurement of icons by five tālas
paraśu	axe
paryanka bandha	legs bound with a strap in a yogic pose
paryankāsana	seated pose with legs locked over seat
parivārālayam (ashṭa)	parivāra dēvatā griham, shrines for subsidiary deities provided in the circumambulatory passage (subshrines round the main shrine housing subordinate deities, usually eight)
pāśa	noose
patākā	flag

patra kuṇḍala	ear ornament in the form of a leaf scroll
patra kūṭa	leaf decoration in the crown
patra paṭṭa	leaf strip decoration of coiffure
paṭṭigai	a basement moulding
pediment	triangular part crowing the front of a building
pōdigai	corbel or bracket
pināka	bow of Śiva
Prabhāvaḷi	arch round a deity, aureola
pradakshiṇa	circumambulatory
prākāra	circuit round the sanctum, generally five, pancha prākāra, viz., antara maṇḍala, antara hāra, madhya hāra, bāhya hāra and maryāda
prāsāda	temple in general, prāsāda are classified according to their shape; sama-chaturaśra (square), vritta (circular), chaturdīrgha (rectangular), hasti-prishṭa (apsidal), vrittāyata (ellipsoidal), shaṭ-kōna (hexagonal), ashṭāśra (octagonal)
prastara	entablature, part of an order above the column including the architrave, frieze and cornice
pratyālīḍha	a warrior pose (opp. to ālīḍha)
prayōga (chakra)	discus in use
prishṭa-chakra	wheel design on the buttocks

R

Rudrāksha	the beads of a rosary, the rosary itself
ratna makuṭa	gem decorated crown
ratna paṭṭa	a decorative strip studded with gems worn over the hair (coiffure)
riju	one of the five sthānas or positions

S

Sāchi	one of the five sthānas or positions
sādāraṇa maṇḍapa	hall resting on 28 to 100 pillars
śakti	spear shaped weapon (power or energy)
śālai	rectangular ornamental panchara with wagon roof on the storeys of vimānas (also see kūṭa and nāśi)
sama pāda	straight stance with feet together
samhāra mūrti	Śiva as a destroyer (various forms)
śankha	conch
sapta tāla	measurement of images by seven tālas
sarpa-kuṇḍala	ear ornament in the form of a serpant
śaturam (śaduram)	square section of a pillar (cubique)
śayana	reclining posture or attitude
śikhara	top covering of a vimāna, above the grīvā (square, bulbous, octagonal or wagon-shaped)
śilpa	art
simha karṇa	lion-eared; in an attitude of beckoning
śirastraka	turban, a head-gear

śiras-chakra	decorative ornament like a wheel behind the head (lotus, wheel or simhamukha forms)
skanda mālā	shoulder tassels
snapana maṇḍapa	bathing hall of deities
śrīvatsa	auspicious mark on Vishṇu's chest
stambha	pillar
sthana hāra	necklet touching the breasts
stūpi	pot-shaped crowning element over the vimāna or gōpuram
sūchi	hand with pointing finger
sukhāsana	seated at ease
śūla	trident
sushira	hollow casting (in metal casting)
suvarna vaikākshaka	gold bejewelled ornament shaped like a channavira

T

Tāla	unit of measurement for images
tāli	marriage badge
taḷi	shrine, temple
tarjani	hand in attitude of warning, threatening, caution
tāṭanka chakra	circular ear-ornament
tiruch-churṟu-māḷigai	peristyle, enclosure wall with a maṇḍapa
tiru-iḍaik-kaṭṭu	ardhamaṇḍapa, or vestibule (Gaṇḍarādittam, ARE no. 660 of 1909)
tri-bhanga	triple flexion
triśūla	trident

U

udara bandha	waist band
upānam	a section of basement moulding
upa-pīṭham	the basement below the adhishṭhānam, sub-basement
ūrdhva paṭṭikā	lintel, see uttiram
utkuṭīkāsana	seated with a bent leg raised on the seat itself, the other leg dangling
uttarīya	upper garment
uttiram	cross beam (architecture)

V

vādaśālā	hall of disputation, debating hall
vaikākshaka	cross belt
vaivāhika mūrti	the bridal form
vaḷayas	kankaṇa, wristlets
vanamālā	Vishṇu's garland
varada mudrā	hand pose conferring boon
vidyādhara	celestial beings shown as flying in the air
vimāna	the sanctum together with its superstructure

vimāna dēvatās	sculptures of deities on the vimāna (both on the outer walls of the garbhagriha and on the upper talas of the vimāna)
vîrāsana	hero's seated pose with one leg on the other
vyākhyāna mudrā	hand pose in the attitude of exposition

Y

yajnōpavîta	sacred thread
yāḷi	leogryph
yōgapaṭṭa	band binding the legs, while in meditation (paryanka bandha)
yōgāsana	meditative pose.

Index

t. = temple; t.v.v. = terinda valangai velaikkarar; cvm = chaturvedimangalam; r. = river: m. = mountain; a.p.d. = ashta parivara devatas; a.d.p. = ashta dig-palakas; a.d. = ashta dik (eight directions); v.v. = valangai velaikkarar

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would have done had its buried and burnt-out hollow been plaster-filled *cire perdue* style in all their minutae to bring back to life the city in action at the point of time when it was suddenly snuffed out by Vesuvian lava.

Such re-enactment of vibrant life is rare in early history. And Rājarājēśvaram presents one such rare scenario in life drama at the turn of the first millennium. Hence its relevance.

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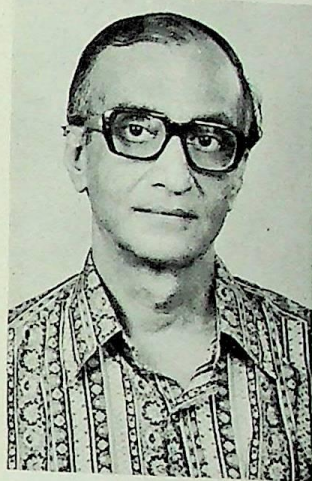
Born to Archaeology Epigraphy and against t[he] backdrop of the 'City of Cosmic Dance', B. Venkataraman, from childhood, learnt Archaeology at the feet [of] his Guru and father, Pro[f.] S.R. Balasubrahmanyam. He had been deeply involved in all his father's field studies stretching o[ver] four decades. Starting hi[s] apprenticeship with his father, from taking estampages to decipheri[ng] mutilated inscriptions, he came to be closely associated in Prof. Balasubrahmanyam's well-known quartet on Chōla Temples. In fact, in the fourth and final volume of the seri[es] 'Later Chola Temples', he has co-authored the book with [his] illustrious father.

Joining the band of dedicated civil servants in the post-Independence India, Venkataraman did not allow his inte[rest] in Archaeology to flag in spite of the claims of administrati[on] on his time and energy. His membership of the Indian Administrative Service, in fact, facilitated his refurbishing Museum and Manuscripts Library at Bhubaneswar, ap[art] renovating and conserving, among others, the earliest kno[wn] structural temples in Orissa, viz., Lakhmanēsvar, Śatrughnēśvar and Bharatēśvar (circa A.D. 575–625).

A Doctor of Literature, the author has to his credit book[s] entitled 'Laddigam, A Later Chola Temple' and 'Temple A[rt] under the Chōla Queens', apart from other contributions o[n] Dravidian Art and Culture.

He had held important governmental assignments—s[uch as] Chief Secretary in the State of Orissa, and Secretary to the Government of India.

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